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ABSTRACT

The paper presents a rationale, major concepts, and basic vocabulary related to citizenship education. The aim of the document is to aid elementary and secondary school classroom teachers as they develop and implement citizen education programs. The paper is presented in five major sections. Section I explains the purpose of the paper. Section II outlines the need for citizen education from the points of view of historical trends, current interest, and social problems. Section III focuses on assumptions behind new citizen education including that programs should stress democratic values (freedom, concern for others, equality, justice, and rationality); transmit knowledge about the structure and function of American government; be comprehensive and interdisciplinary; have clear affective as well as cognitive objectives; and be attractive to teachers, students, parents, and the public. Section IV identifies major issue areas--authority, leadership and participation, values and principles, scope of community, development process, societal problems; and political/social perspectives. In addition, it discusses content, learning theory, objectives, and instructional modes and design. The final section reiterates major purposes and content of the paper. (DB)

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A CONCEPTUALIZATION OF CITIZEN EDUCATION

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Abstract

This paper presents a rationale, a language, and some concepts useful to the practitioner for developing citizen education programs at the school level. The need and justification for citizen education are substantiated by historical tradition, goal statements of states, and current social deficits. The scope and structure of a new citizen education effort are sketched. The remainder of the paper maps out a series of issues areas that school practitioners should consider in developing their own citizen education programs. These issue areas include the questions of authority, participants, underlying values, scope of the community, development process, societal problems, social/political perspectives, content, learning theories, objectives, instructional modes, and instructional design. Each issue area is described. Alternatives are suggested and recommendations presented.

A CONCEPTUALIZATION OF CITIZEN EDUCATION

Russell A. Hill

PURPOSE OF PAPER

This paper is addressed to educational practitioners who want to think about citizen education. It is particularly addressed to those teachers and administrators who want to develop a citizen education program in their school(s). By citizen education, we mean those educational activities in the classroom, in the school, and in the community that can be marshaled to teach children to participate in our democratic society in a manner which is effective, which respects the common welfare, and which is personally satisfying.

The objective of the paper is to provide a rationale, a language, and some concepts to guide us in thinking about and in constructing citizen education programs. A citizen education program is here conceptualized as being composed of a series of issue areas, each requiring consideration and decision by program architects. The issue areas are authority, leadership and participation, values and principles, scope of community, development process, societal problems, political/social perspectives, content, learning theory, objectives, instructional modes, and instructional design. The paper describes the issue areas, discusses the pros and cons of the alternatives within each, and recommends options for the practitioner's consideration. While the presentation frankly presents the author's judgment about the alternatives, practitioners are encouraged to work through the problems independently and arrive at those decisions which best fit their interests and particularities.

NEED FOR CITIZEN EDUCATION

Before discussing the construction of a citizen education program, it is important to consider the question of need. Why engage in citizen education? What problems does it address? Are the considerable resources and effort necessary to develop a citizen education program justified? Is a need widely perceived?

The following paragraphs provide what we feel is a powerful case for the need for citizen education. It is our hope that the school practitioner will find it valuable both for sustaining efforts underway and for inspiring new ones.

Historic Concern

In one sense, concern about citizen education is as old as the country itself. The transmittal of American democratic values and principles to the young has always been a fundamental responsibility of education. To a lesser degree, it has been a traditional responsibility of the family and religious institutions. In the United States, training for citizenship and the exercise of citizenship are traditionally regarded as part and parcel of a child's progress toward maturity. The founders of our nation explicitly recognized, as we recognize today, that the electorate must have the knowledge, skills, and dispositions to be effective civic participants. Thomas Jefferson (cited in Foner, 1944) stated in his Notes on the State of Virginia:

> Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its only safe depositories. And to render even them safe their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This indeed is not all that is necessary, though

> it be essentially necessary. An amendment of our constitution must here come in aid of the public education. The influence over government must be shared among all the people. (pp. 151-152)

Horace Mann (1867) further developed this quintessentially American position in his statement of 1848:

> The Constitution of the United States and of our own State, should be made a study in our Public Schools. The partition of the powers of government into the three co-ordinate branches--legislative, judicial, and executive--with the duties appropriately devolving upon each; the mode of electing or of appointing all officers, with the reason on which it was founded; and, especially, the duty of every citizen, in a government of laws, to appeal to the courts for redress, in all cases of alleged wrong, instead of undertaking to vindicate his own rights by his own arm, and, in a government where the people are the acknowledged sources of power, the duty of changing laws and rulers by an appeal to the ballot, and not by rebellion, should be taught to all the children until they are fully understood. (p. 278)

Inherent in Jefferson's position is a belief that the individual must be committed to the body politic, to the commonweal, and to the social contract. Conjoined to this is the position that the individual must be knowledgeable and skilled in civic matters. Finally, it is posited that such skill and knowledge are not to be left to chance; they are to be deliberately fostered, primarily by public education.

Renewed Interest

As this country moves into the last quarter of the twentieth century we hear a call for renewal, revitalization, of our commitment to these historic principles. Despite our long history of formal and informal citizenship education, evidence mounts that our efforts must be strengthened.

A wide range of civic problems beset our society, and many can be traced to deficits in the very knowledge, skills, and dispositions which characterize the effective citizen. Awareness of the urgency of the problem is indicated in many sectors of our society, in many forms. Some of these indicators are summarized below.

In its Report to the President, the White House Conference on Children (1971) called for "total commitment in terms of funding, research and community actions" to instruction in the fundamental values and principles of our constitutional democracy. Goals listed to accomplish this broad objective included experience in balancing independence and obligation; instruction in the values of fair play, justice, and equality; and development of skill in critical thinking.

The Citizenship Education Task Force of the United States Office of Education (USOE) is currently soliciting and processing suggestions for specific policy recommendations to improve citizenship education. Its several reports form part of the USOE effort "to respond to a growing recognition that the relationship between the citizen and government must be revitalized in order to restore the meaning of 'consent of the governed' and the notion of 'the citizen of responsibility' [sic]" (USOE, 1977).

A 1976 national survey of state education agencies (Blum, 1977) found that 26 of the 46 responding states "perceive the United States citizenry as being critically confused with regard to ethics/morals/values. They see public education as the prime vehicle to bring renewed clarity" (p. 5). Blum further reported that "all responding States (46) plan to integrate

the concrete values and principles identified with the history of democratic institutions of the United States into any new ECE [Ethical-Citizenship Education] efforts" (p. 5). "A large majority of States (43) seek to develop citizenship education curricula which develop in students the skills necessary for lifelong competence in society" (p. 5).

As further indication of the depth of concern for citizenship and civic/ethical values is the fact that 31 state education agencies (SEAs) have addressed the issue of ethical education since 1970 and have articulated new guidelines. Forty-two "seek to integrate values education with citizenship-education curricula in order to provide students with values that guide citizenship practice" (p. 5).

In sum, the Blum report paints a persuasive and consistent picture of state education agencies at the policy-making level: They are almost as one in assigning citizen education a top priority.

The status of citizen education as a national priority was reaffirmed in a report of the Committee on Citizenship of the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) presented to that organization's 1976 national meeting (CCSSO, 1976). This report stated the committee's perception that the public desires "action now" in the area of citizenship education in the schools. The CCSSO speaks from a formidable base of across-regions leadership.

A USOE conference on Education for Citizenship, held in Kansas City in September 1976, set the scene for what appeared to be overwhelming agreement among the nearly 400 participants that more needs to be done in citizenship training. The schools, it was agreed, cannot handle the task

of citizenship education alone, but they must take a leadership role. It was reported that the conference brought about "an evident rededication to and rethinking of citizenship education" on the part of the participants (Bell, 1976, p. 1).

A further index of public concern is revealed by Gallup's Eighth Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools. Sixty-seven percent of the sample felt schools should take on a share of responsibility for the moral behavior of their children (Gallup, 1976). The same survey asked which qualities most important in the development of the child were neglected by the schools. The results are given in Table 1 (Gallup, 1976).

Table 1

Qualities Neglected by Public Schools

Quality	National totals %	No. children in schools %	Public school parents %	Parochial school parents %
1. High moral standards	26	24	28	26
2. Learning to think for oneself	15	15	14	11
3. Eagerness to learn	13	14	12	15
4. Willingness to accept responsibility	12	13	10	20
5. Desire to excel	9	8	12	11
6. Ability to get along with others	8	9	8	5
7. Don't know/no answer	17	17	16	12

A 1975 poll of Phi Delta Kappa members (Ryan & Thompson, 1975) found 88% of the sample agreed that an active moral education program in schools is an important adjunct to home and school instruction. Given definitions of "a moral person," 97% checked "shows concern about the rights and welfare of others"; and 80% checked "thinks clearly regarding issues of right and wrong." Thus education's professional fraternity joins in the call for dispositions and skills explicitly associated with good citizenship.

In a survey of parents and teachers of junior high school students across the country, both groups generally felt that socialization for civic participation should be a major objective of education and that the value of consideration of others should be taught (Sanders & Wallace, 1975).

A poll of teacher opinion conducted by the National Education Association in 1971 revealed that 41% of the responding teachers thought that there was a need for more instruction regarding the importance of a system of laws and respect for the law. A similar question in 1966 found only 34.9% of the teachers holding this view (Harris, 1975). The trend is clear.

Social Symptoms and Deficits

The foregoing panoramic view of national awareness and concern about civic development rests upon a dismaying variety of antisocial behaviors and problems attributable to citizenship deficits. Let us examine the demonstrated deficits, the problems, and their impact on American society.

Most telling of all, perhaps, are the data of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). NAEP conducted two surveys in 1969

and 1976 which measured nine areas of citizenship. Results of the 1969 assessment indicated marked deficits. For example, few of the older students and adults understood the working of specific governmental institutions and structures, such as the courts. Few respondents even attempted to participate in civic action. Suggestions for preventing wars showed little understanding of international relations. When presented with specific unpopular causes, a majority of adults and older students showed attitudes counter to their lip service to individual rights. Less than a third would allow freedom of speech to persons advocating communist, racist, or atheist points of view (Johnson, 1977).

A special Bicentennial survey of 13-year-olds and 17-year-olds conducted by NAEP (1976) found that American teenagers rated low in political knowledge. Barely half of the 17-year-olds knew that each state has two United States Senators and that the number of United States Representatives is determined by the state's population. Only about 50% of both the 13- and the 17-year olds knew that the President cannot appoint people to Congress. One out of every seven 17-year-olds thought that the President does not always have to obey the law. Of the 17-year-olds, 32% did not think it important to vote in all elections, nor did they think it necessary to vote if their candidate was unlikely to win.

A profile of student achievement developed by NAEP (Mullis, Oldefendt, & Phillips, 1977) revealed that:

- Few 13-year-olds understand various functions and limits of the executive and judicial branches of government, and few know the functions of the legislative branch.

- All 17-year-olds believe in social equality and changing unfair laws, but only half take part in school politics.

These data from the special survey provided a comparison with the findings of the earlier full study. Overall, for items measuring political knowledge and attitudes, the average performance scores of 13-year-olds and 17-year-olds declined from 1969 to 1976, particularly with regard to the structure and function of government. Compounding this was a decline in understanding of, and willingness to participate in, the political process, and in recognizing and valuing some constitutional rights.

Selected comparative findings, for instance, showed that 17-year-olds and 13-year-olds declined 12 and 11 percentage points, respectively, in their ability to explain the basic concept of democracy. For both 1969 and 1976, about one-fifth of the 13-year-old students could name one of their congressional representatives. There was a 9-percentage-points decline in the 17-year-olds' ability to name their Senator or Representative. Knowledge about selection of Presidential candidates dropped markedly.

With regard to local government, there was a decline to 30% of those 17-year-olds who could name their state Governor, and a similar decline to 45% of those able to identify the state assembly as a legislative body. Finally, and perhaps most disturbing, there was a decline in the number of students who felt that they could influence local government.

Corroborating testament is found in the findings of studies measuring student attitudes and performance in the area of citizenship. The results of opinion surveys of 10,000 high school students over the past 25 years

were summarized recently in an article by Butts (1976). He reported that a significant number of American teenagers showed an absence of commitment to basic democratic values such as freedom of press, freedom of speech, authority of police, and constitutionally guaranteed rights of foreigners and minorities.

Turning to comparisons across countries, in 1976 the International Association for Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) studied education in 21 countries. As part of that study, civic education was investigated in nine countries, including the United States (Torney, Oppenheim, & Farnen, 1975). In the United States, scores for 14-year-olds for the "support for democratic values" were below the average of all surveyed countries (Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, Iceland, Israel, Italy, The Netherlands, New Zealand, United States). The low score was attributed primarily to two scales: "tolerance and support for civil liberties" and "support for women's rights." The results of scores for students in the last year of high school showed a similar trend, particularly with regard to four scales: "anti-authoritarianism," "tolerance and civil liberties," "support for women's rights," and "support for equality."

Social Problem Areas

It is self-evident that these multiple deficits bear a direct relationship to prominent social malaises which afflict our culture. To name a few (R. Hill, 1977):

- There is a growing suspicion and hostility toward government and political leaders. Cynicism toward those in power is the norm,

not the exception. Indeed, Watergate simply confirmed what youth already thought about corruption in positions of leadership. A disaffected electorate runs counter to the basic assumptions of our democratic process (Kirkpatrick, 1977; Long & Strong, 1976).

- There is disdain for the commonweal and a narcissistic self-absorption and self-interest. These violate our precept of the citizenry serving the public good and the public interest. Social alienation, dropping out, and privatism abound (Jones, 1977; Lasch, 1978). A democratic culture cannot coexist with civic apathy and withdrawal.
- There is ignorance of the vital issues facing our communities, nation, and world. Effective citizen action, and community betterment, must be based on a knowledge and understanding of the trends and events in our lives. To ignore them is to render useless (or dangerous) the concept of citizen as informed agent (NAEP, 1978).
- There are widely found deficiencies in the skills for effective civic participation. Such skills, for instance engaging in civil discourse and negotiating, are neglected, although they are the foundation for individual or group particpation in community and political processes. Such skills should be a key part of the educational effort if we want today's students to exercise future citizenship (NAEP, 1978; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976).

- A growing sense of powerlessness and disaffection clouds an individual's feeling and motivation about taking a role in civic matters. Locus of control is perceived as external, and a concomitant attitude of withdrawal blocks potential activists. Declining numbers of voters and fewer participants in the civic and community arena are symptoms of this problem. Yet our society is predicated on the citizen as effective, participating activist (Hill, Chapman, & Wuertzer, 1974; NAEP, 1978; Nolan & Fargen, 1975; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976).

The problems -- and the evidence -- mount.

A New Citizen Education Program

A legitimate question is whether programs do not already exist which address these needs. Don't we already have a series of political education programs that can fill out a learner's knowledge of the structure and function of government? Don't we already have programs that can address a learner's sense of powerlessness? Don't we already have programs in multiethnic education and women's equity that can counter discrimination because of race and sex? Of course the answer to all these questions is yes. Such programs exist, and many are excellent. There are strong programs, for example, in law-related education (Henning, 1973), environmental education, economic education, moral education; there are successful programs designed to reduce school violence and vandalism.

Why, then, develop a citizen education program? There are several compelling reasons. First, fractionalization, and even factionalism,

characterize current programs. The individual school principal is confronted with an overwhelming profusion of program possibilities. Shall he or she emphasize economic education, or law-related education, or political education? Shall he or she emphasize the teaching of human development and parenting? Shall he or she include consumer education? Among a vast array of competing information, shall he or she choose this new text, that new guide, those new materials?

To further confound the issue, teachers tend to become advocates of one topic area, to the neglect of other important aspects. Parents and even legislators press for their specific interests. School practitioners know that there is no way that all of these topics and special interests can be fitted into a school program at the level their enthusiasts call for. They also sense, and rightly so, that there is a great deal of redundancy and overlap among the competing factions. For instance, moral education raises law-related issues as part of its curriculum. Law-related education raises moral and political issues. Political education raises questions of morality and law. And all seek, in one way or another, to teach thinking skills or problem-solving skills! And so it continues.

Synthesis is clearly needed. Some persons, some groups, must look across this large area (which we might call social learning and development) and draw the many strands, if not together, at least into consonance. First, there should be a horizontal integration (Tyler, 1949); that is, the various subject areas should be fitted into not only the social studies curriculum but all curriculum areas. For example, the

language arts and science programs could and should contain elements of values and civic issues for study. Further, research tells us that classroom climate is a strong influence on political and interpersonal attitudes (Allman-Snyder, May, & Garcia, 1975; Almond & Verba, 1963; Ehman, 1978; Ehman & Gillespie, 1975). Research also indicates that school governance and school climate have an impact on feelings of efficacy and political and social attitudes (Burback, 1972; Ehman & Gillespie, 1975; Lewis, 1962; Ziblatt, 1965). These nonclassroom aspects of the school must be seen as a legitimate part of the educational experience of the learner. And as such, they, and their potential influence, must be integrated with the rest of the program. Research on school change indicates that combining the different efforts into more comprehensive programs has great promise for effecting the desired learning (Averch, Carroll, Donaldson, Kresling, & Pincus, 1972; Baldridge, 1974).

Second, there should be a vertical integration; that is, the content areas and the school climate influences should extend across far more than two or three grade levels, a limitation that too often is now the case. For example, most political education programs are aimed at senior high school; drug education programs are aimed at early junior high school and some high school areas; programs concerned with interpersonal fairness and morality are usually aimed at the early grades. Yet many of the program designers assert that there should be a solid base of social education both before and after the level at which their particular curriculum contribution is scheduled. A combined vertical and horizontal integration

of social education and development is a necessity for an intelligently articulated program from kindergarten through senior high school.

As discussed earlier, many excellent curricular programs now exist. They have been created by theoreticians and practitioners in many schools in the country (e.g., products of IPEL, QUEST, EXCeL). But these programs tend to have a very short life, often petering out after 3 years. They need broader and longer-range support. Moreover, they are isolated from each other. Often the staff of one program is completely unaware of another program that is addressing the same problems. Better articulation and better program integration would not only help avoid the "reinventing the wheel" phenomenon; it would also build momentum and support for citizen education as a whole. Finally, we find that one program addresses violence and vandalism; another addresses school governance and climate; and a third develops an ethical/values curriculum. Each is different in its approach, but each has related objectives. It seems to us that these different programs and projects could be synthesized -- put together so as to be cumulative in effect. We believe that information about these short-lived, widely dispersed, isolated, and often successful programs should be collected, publicized, and used to build even more effective and comprehensive programs.

A final task is to transform citizen education into a national focus, a kind of marching slogan, that would draw support, marshal resources, and give direction. It would be somewhat analogous to the "basic skills" slogan, with its force to command general respect and support. If we give it substance, citizen education should take its rightful place (along with

basic skills and career education) as one of the major contemporary thrusts of any school program in the country.

In summary, there is a need for a major citizen education effort to address the needs and deficiencies well documented in the literature. While a number of existing programs tackle some of these issues on a limited basis, the need now is for a comprehensive program of social education and development, including school climate and organization, whose elements are synthesized into a nonredundant, vertically and horizontally comprehensive, integrated whole. Such an effort should be sufficiently versatile and flexible to appeal to both schoolpeople and the public, so that a mobilizing effect would draw support and resources.

ASSUMPTIONS BEHIND THE NEW CITIZEN EDUCATION

At this juncture, it might be a useful exercise to draw together the assumptions underlying the author's approach to citizen education. They can be summed up as follows:

- We are committed to the basic values of our democratic heritage -- caring for persons, freedom, equality, justice, and rationality. We want these values conserved and re-created in new forms and with new generations of Americans.
- We want to address the specific deficits and needs identified in the previous section. We want learners to know more about the structure and function of their government. We want them both to be, and to perceive themselves to be, more effective agents in their society.

We want to redress the deficits and problems that currently endanger our country.

- We want the citizen education program to be comprehensive. We want the content to reach across school subject-matter disciplines. We want it to reach across all grades and age levels in the school. We want it to reach across structures and divisions within a school, to transcend the classroom, to penetrate the school climate, even to transcend the school by engaging learners in community activities. The powerful influence of the media must be recognized and addressed as a part of this effort.
- We want the citizen education program to be effective, to have a clear impact on what learners do, think, and feel. To do this, we want to use the best practices, the most promising theories, and the most valid research. A major effort is needed to fuse these elements into a strong program.
- We want programs that are attractive, practical, and reasonably priced, geared to use by schoolpeople in the field. Abstract theoretical notions alone are not acceptable. We want program efforts that attract (not offend) teachers, students, parents, and the public.

To repeat, the ultimate objective is to assist school personnel to build comprehensive programs of social learning and development that will teach students citizenship knowledge, skills, and behaviors. The outcome of this instruction will be young persons equipped to participate effectively in our democratic society in a manner which both contributes to the

common welfare and is personally satisfying. In a sense, we are calling for an educational program that will lead to the realization of our highest social, political, and economic ideals. The following pages map out the language, the concepts, and a suggested process for working from our assumptions toward the attainment of our objectives.

ISSUE AREAS

Our analysis of citizen education begins with the identification of key issue areas. We have narrowed these -- out of almost unlimited possibilities -- to 12. Each deals with a particular aspect of citizen education that requires choices among alternatives in developing school programs. Although not unalterably so, they form a rough sequence; that is, in most cases an issue grows out of and builds on the preceding one(s).

We have listed and summarized the 12 issue areas in a question format, the questions framed to reflect the major concerns in developing a citizen education program for a specific school. It should be cautioned at the outset that the list necessarily includes overlap and some arbitrary distinctions. It is obvious that these items will tend to meld in the real world.

- Authority. Upon what or whose authority is one empowered to institute citizen education? On what basis, if any, may sensitive areas like values and principles be taught? Do the public schools have the authority to tell students how they ought to act as citizens?
- Leadership and Participation. Who should assume responsibility for creating citizen education programs? Who has the right? Who has

the power? Who can be most effective? What guidelines should be used for organization?

- Values and Principles. What are the fundamental values and principles that should guide the citizen education effort? What or who is the source of these values? How are they to be specified and selected?
- Scope of Community. What is the scope of the communities to be considered and the scope of communities to be addressed? Will the citizen education program take a national, a global, or a regional perspective; or a combination of these? Will the focus of the program include the local community, the school community, or the peer group of the learner; or a combination of these? What communities are to be included as referents and/or as topics of study?
- Development Process. What program-development process should be employed to create citizen education programs? Can the means be consistent with the ends? Should the process reflect the principles and values cited above? If so, what are the implications for procedural aspects of program development?
- Societal Problems. What societal problems and issues should a citizen education program address? What are the pressing contemporary social issues? Should citizens be prepared for/instructed about specific issues, such as the energy crisis? What weight should be given to local issues? To what extent should such issues shape the educational program?
- Political/Social Perspectives. What political/social perspectives

should be employed, if any? Should they be reflected at all in a citizen education program? If so, how? What are the potential problems and dangers? Can these problems and dangers be obviated?

- Content. What content should be included in citizen education? What disciplines and fields are most relevant to citizen education? What guidelines should be used to select and delimit the content of these disciplines and fields of thought? How should the content be organized and arranged?
- Learning Theory. Which learning theory(ies) should be used to explicate the way individuals learn citizen education? Which of the theories should be used as guides in program development? What are the implications of the theories for citizen education?
- Objectives. What should be the objectives of a citizen education program? How should these objectives be expressed, and at what level of generality and abstractness?
- Instructional Modes. What should be the scope of instructional efforts? Should the focus be simply on the traditional classroom teaching and curriculum? Should we include informal structures, such as the so-called "invisible curriculum," e.g., school climate, interpersonal relationships, peer relationships, parents, the community, and the media?
- Instructional Design. What instructional design should be employed? What should be the scope and sequence of the curriculum content? How should staff and student roles be organized? What time sequences should be established?

These, then, are what we consider the 12 salient areas of practitioner decision-making related to citizen education programs. They form, in a sense, the backbone of a "how-to" approach for school practitioners.

Most of the following pages will be devoted to examining and discussing the issue areas. Where appropriate, alternative decision choices will be outlined and their implications explored. Finally, recommendations will be proposed for consideration by schoolpersons, recommendations avowedly reflecting the author's prerogative, author bias.

It should be pointed out that there are many possible approaches to each issue area. This raises the welcome probability that a wide variety of citizen education programs and models will be developed as school leadership and community groups together work through the questions areas. Thus local perceptions and needs will guide local program development, a guidance which is consciously sought in our approach.

Authority

Authority is not an obvious issue. This is particularly true in the context of developing a statement of need and justification for citizen education. Citizen education carries with it an imperative; that is, it teaches individuals what they ought to do. It presents values and attitudes about how people ought to be treated and how one ought to act. This immediately marks it as a potentially controversial enterprise. While many people do not fault the assumption that the public schools should teach citizen education, others challenge it, and their challenge is well-meant and sincere. The authority of the schools to teach citizen education is a crucial issue that must be raised and addressed at the outset of

any program-development effort. If not, it remains as a potential time bomb that can go off at any juncture of program development.

Sometimes the challenge is based on misunderstanding; that is, citizen education is wrongly perceived as being overpatriotic and chauvinistic or as intrinsically socialistic. Such misinformation can be corrected. However, sometimes the challenge is to the very authority of the schools to present citizen education, and sometimes this attack finds wide support. This is a particularly sensitive issue today. There has clearly been a breakdown in public respect for, acceptance of, and support for the authority of the school (Harris & DeGeorge, 1976; MacPherson, 1973), or what has been called "deauthorization" (Butts, 1977). Many find this phenomenon linked to Watergate, to Viet Nam, to the consequent disillusionment with the probity and integrity of our public policies and public personages (Coleman, Janowitz, Johnson, Lekachman, Mayer, Moynihan, Orlans, Sowella, & Wilson, 1976; Gallup, 1977). Others attribute it to a growing disillusionment with the power and capacity of the schools to support change, to be competent or even willing to right wrongs (Hechinger, 1977; F. Hill, 1977). That a general disillusionment exists seems undoubted.

For these reasons, we believe it imperative that practitioners be clear about the rationale for the school's authority and be aware of the perspectives that may challenge that authority.

Let us consider in greater detail the objections and challenges to public schools teaching citizen education. They come from both the right and the left, with three positions predominating. First, there is the

camp that contends that transmitting the values and rules of social behavior to children should be the exclusive prerogative of the home and of religious institutions. The school's role is simply to teach academic skills and information. This point of view is supported by both religious and social conservatives, who hold absolute values. They find wisdom in God, the family, ethnic heritage, kinship, folkways, and volunteerism.

Second, there are those who feel that the schools should be neutral on the question of citizen education and civic values; that the authority for decision resides in the individual; and that individuals should not be persuaded or instructed to act in a specific manner with respect to civic behavior. This position is advocated by those with an existential point of view, those who hold that the willing individual is the central authority of society. There is no objective social reality; it is simply a reflection of individual will. Individuals will naturally be able to address civic problems and issues of their lifestyle once they recognize that they are the arbiters of the same (Harris & DeGeorge, 1976). The "neutral schools" position is also espoused by representatives of a strictly scientific or logical/positive position. For them, education should avoid values or emotional sloganeering and teach fact, logic, and scientific investigation. Learners can then act as information and theory suggest.

Third, there are those who adamantly assert that the public schools should steer clear of citizen education because the schools cannot be trusted to send the right message; indeed, they may educate wrongly. This position is advocated by at least two subperspectives. The first might be

labeled the romantic critics. They feel that the bureaucratic, institutional school manipulates and suppresses individual creativity, encourages conformity, and perpetuates the control of the state. Schools are thus oppressive and inhuman and should be de-authorized, even dissolved (Goodman, 1960; Illich, 1971; Karier, 1978). A second subgroup has been labeled radical revisionists. They are critics of our capitalist social structure and view the school as an agent of that structure. The school is seen as an instrument of oppression in class warfare, keeping people in their place, training and motivating them to consume in a capitalistic society (Katz, 1977; Lazerson, 1978; Spring, 1976).

While these three viewpoints are a decided minority, they have gained credence in recent years as the challenge to the school's authority grows, particularly the educator's authority. The seriousness of the attack should not be dismissed out of hand. It is shared by thoughtful, considerate, and dedicated persons. Practitioners who propose to undertake citizen education efforts should be aware of the challenges and take them quite seriously. They deserve our attention and consideration.

There is, of course, the widely held contrary belief (shared by the author) that the schools have clear and eminent authority to educate for citizenship (Butts, 1977). They state that legitimate authority in a democratic society derives from several kinds of sources and claim these as the bases for citizen education in the schools. A first source is consent of the governed, extended to include consent by their governmental representatives. Second, there is the authority of tradition and custom. These combine to support law as enacted by elected representatives and as

it evolves through case rulings over the years. Finally, authority is vested in the appeal to the common welfare, the commonweal. Society and individuals must be protected and cared for, if at all possible. Let us examine these sources of authority one by one.

With regard to consent of the governed, elected representatives of the populace, sitting in state legislatures, state school boards, and local school boards, have set citizen education as a priority. It is already a stated goal, often a major program area, in many states across the country (Delaware Department of Public Instruction, 1972; New Jersey Board of Education, 1976). The priority thus bears with it the consent of representatives of the polity (Kerr, 1964).

Second, tradition and law also make a case for citizen education. As we have pointed out, the original justification for the public school system was primarily to educate individuals to take their place as citizens of their state and nation (Everhart, 1977). To this end, civics education has been a part of the public schools for their entire history. In a similar way, laws and legal codes support the teaching of civic values and civic information, many backed up by appropriations and new actions. (The Illinois Responsibility Education Program is an example of such action.)

Last, citizen education is justified by an appeal to the common welfare. A major function of the civic body is to create and perpetuate the commonweal of the community it represents. A key way to do this is to educate for the values, procedures, skills, and knowledge that will lead to the realization of that commonweal. This, then, becomes a principal

source of authority: realizing, perpetuating, and re-creating the commonweal.

How can we deal with these conflicting pro and con positions about the authority of schools to engage in citizen education, the divergent views which characterize a pluralistic society? An analogy is found in our national attitude toward Henry David Thoreau. As we know, Thoreau decried and denied the authority of the state; he refused to pay taxes; he objected to the intrusion of a train whistle on the natural solitude of Walden Pond. He was, in fact, the early American exemplar of civil disobedience. Americans regard Thoreau as a hero; they admire and honor his writings and independent position; they long for the simple life of Walden Pond. And yet... yet these admirers pay their taxes with surprising fidelity; they not only ride trains but drive polluting cars; they rail against the encroachments of governmental authority, but they also want to, and conspicuously do, enjoy the benefits of "big government."

There is a tension between Walden's beauty and Washington's bureaucracy. Citizens know that they cannot return to Walden, but they want to maintain this tension, want to move carefully, openly, and slowly, adjusting and readjusting practices and procedures. Indeed, the tension between the freedom of the individual and the needs of the commonweal is a matter of universal debate among politicians, economists, and philosophers (Bickel, 1975; MacPherson, 1973; Rawls, 1971; Selden, 1975; Wolff, 1977).

Therefore, one should be clear about the limits of the school's authority in citizen education. Programs should be limited to civic matters; that is, they should not involve esthetics or other personal

areas. Decisions with respect to policy should be tested and reviewed by as many interests and groups as possible, for it must be recognized that an oppressive, dictatorial state could make many of these same claims for its authority which we have just made for citizen education. The authority we lay claim to requires sensitivity to criticisms and a willingness to reexamine ideas of what does and does not legitimately lie within the limits of civic responsibility and concern.

We offer several recommendations concerning the complex issue of authority. Be clear about the basis of the authority that you claim in creating a citizen education program. Be aware of other points of view, both pro and con, regarding your claim. Be articulate and open about your position, if possible developing a formal statement putting forth the basis of your authority claim and including it in public-information materials. Be sensitive to criticisms and offer ample opportunity for discussion and dissent from the public-at-large. Finally, use the authority sources and principles stated aboved to strengthen your claim to authority; that is, obtain clearance and support from elected representatives, such as school board members, state school board members, or whatever level is appropriate to your community; develop understanding on the part of the school community; involve those who will be affected by the program and seek their consent, including teachers, parents, community representatives, and, yes, even learners; relate your effort to American tradition and jurisprudence; and keep in sight the guiding theme of concern for the commonweal. These actions will also keep you responsive to

challenge if you should exceed the presumed prerogatives of the schools to teach civic and social behavior.

Leadership and Participation

Who can or should develop citizen education programs? Certainly there are many possibilities. Groups of many kinds are engaged in citizen education efforts. For instance, a national task force housed in USOE is engaged in developing recommendations in the domain; a committee of the Council of Chief State School Officers is studying the problems of citizen education; New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and several other states are engaged in developing citizen education programs (Blum, 1977); private corporations and foundations are formulating pilot projects and supporting experimental efforts; and several projects are supported by government agencies, including ESEA Title IV(c) monies (e.g., Institute for Political and Legal Education), the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the National Coalition for Citizen Education. A survey of these proliferating activities provides a partial answer to the question of who can or should carry out citizen education. The answer: many and varied persons and groups, and this is fortunate because citizen education benefits from broad advocacy.

However, we believe that there is a critical level, a point of thrust, that makes the difference as to whether citizen education programs have an impact on learners. This level is the local school. Unless the local school becomes consciously engaged in citizen education, efforts at other levels will have only marginal effects. The focus upon the local school is supported by compelling evidence that schools, rather than school

districts, have distinctive climates that facilitate or retard learning (Brockover & Schneider, 1975; U.S. Dept. of HEW, 1977). This is particularly true with our view of citizen education (Ehman, 1978; Ehman & Gillespie, 1975), since it focuses on a specific school as an entity (not just a classroom) with specific personnel, climate, and working relationships. It is an excellent unit, a world, if you will, for carrying out a program that can affect learners. Finally, there are excellent schoolwide program efforts being developed that can be adopted/adapted at the local school level. In short, the scale of the school is preferred for educational change and particularly suited to citizen education's content and context.

The question then becomes: Who at the local-school level should initiate and undertake citizen education programs? Our answer: the school principal and a critical mass of teachers within that school. It is well-documented that the principal is the most influential person in the school. He or she has the role, opportunity, and authority to set the tone and the climate of the school (Becker, Withycombe, Doyel, Miller, Morgan, DeLoretto, & Aldridge, 1971; Chesler, Schmuck, & Lippit, 1975; Deal, Meyer, & Scott, 1975; Lieberman, 1977). Teachers are also key. They influence what is taught, and they influence critical variables of the classroom (Ehman, 1978). It is acknowledged that their actions and attitudes can make or break a program, a virtual veto power, and if they are enthusiastic they can significantly increase the effectiveness of a program (Marker, 1970; Sikorski, Turnbull, Thorne, & Bell, 1976; Silvis, 1972).

The local school focus must be rounded out by involving representatives of parents, of schoolchildren, and of the local community and institutions. Ideally, these representatives should be formed into a task force for citizen education, whose leadership members would be the principal and the teachers. We call this group a school improvement team and discuss it in detail later.

The team nonschool representatives can contribute significantly in several ways.

First, as stated in the discussion of authority, they can buttress and legitimize the authority claims of the program.

Second, they can provide useful information about the community and student activities in out-of-school hours. For example, the author was recently engaged in a project involving such a school improvement team. A local storekeeper who served on the team provided valuable information about what kids were doing near his store in the evening hours, about juvenile problems he saw in the community, and about the adolescent culture of the school "family." After recovering from a medium level of shock at his unvarnished report, parents and others were able to think through the problems and try to approach them through the citizen education program.

A third strength of parent and community-member involvement is their control of the potential resources for citizen education. For example, if the school improvement team should decide to develop intern programs wherein students would participate in community health-care services, the community representatives would be invaluable in interpreting the needs of

the school to the community, in making contact with potential intern institutions, and in making practical arrangements.

Finally, and certainly not least, parents and community representatives can provide ideas, practicality, and wisdom to citizen education efforts.

In sum, the local-school principal and teachers are the most effective initiators of citizen education. They should be joined by parents and community representatives in a school improvement team charged with the responsibility of developing and implementing a citizen education program. Such a cast of characters reflects the values of our democratic process in its most practical form and enriches the program effort.

Values and Principles

The next issue area concerns the values and principles to guide citizen education in a given school. These become the underlying axioms of program development. By values, we mean those customs, ideals, and concepts which our society professes to believe in. By principles, we mean accepted or professed rules of action -- a somewhat lower level of abstraction than values.

School practitioners and improvement teams should involve themselves and others in a conscious effort to select their guiding values and principles. They should be prepared to explicitly state them and to justify this foundation for program development. This is a key consideration, for the axiomatic propositions will shape the total effort and become the basis of many program elements.

Currently, there are three major positions related to the role of

values and principles in citizen education. Two are negative. Of these, a first stance contends that there can be no agreement on values and principles in our society; therefore, an attempt to formulate guiding ones for program development is both foolish and foolhardy. This stance, in turn, is supported by several perspectives. One holds that ours is a pluralistic society and that the consequent diversity of opinions, values, and principles renders consensus impossible -- and perhaps undesirable.

Another anti position maintains that schools should not teach content that presents social values; that to do so endangers and contradicts our basic principles of individual freedoms; that teaching values is and should be the prerogative of the home and the church.

A third major position, the predominant one, is positive. It holds that there <u>are</u> basic values and principles that our society agrees upon; that these common principles and values have been explicated, espoused, and reaffirmed in many ways through the years. The principle of equality, for example, is stated and advocated in our basic documents, in our laws, in our legislative procedures, in our literature, and in our traditions.

This last point of view has the support of a large range of experts in education and allied fields. For instance, Butts, a noted historian in the field of civic education, holds that an underlying commonality keeps society together. He lists as commonly held values equality, freedom, obligation for the public good, popular consent, and respect for pluralism (Research for Better Schools, 1978).

Max Lerner, an internationally known pundit, proposes five common civic values: equal access to equal life chances for all; civility, that

is, a sense of respect for the viewpoints, the urgencies, the purposes, and the values of others; equal justice under the law; competition of ideas in order to get majority action; and a sense of human connectedness, which he calls "nexus": a sense of linkage between human beings in a society, a recognition that what happens to others does in a real sense happen to the rest of us (Adams, Ellis, Lerner, Rubin, & Tyler, 1977).

Again, Ralph Tyler, a distinguished educator, cites the work of the NAEP in his formulation of commonly held values (Adams et al., 1977). NAEP civic education objectives were developed by schoolpeople and scholars and then critically reviewed by public panels across the country. Panel members were nominated by groups ranging from the NAACP to labor groups to manufacturers groups, and so on. The resulting composite list named ten basic values or principles judged appropriate for school instruction and citizen education: honesty; truthfulness; respect for the dignity and worth of every individual regardless of background, race, religion, ethnic group, and the like; a sense of caring about other people; the Golden Rule; fairness for, equal opportunity for, and equal treatment of, persons in similar circumstances; a concern for settling conflicts among persons in a peaceful, orderly, and just fashion; respect for constituted authority and a concern for recognizing authority in order to organize activities; dependable exercise of responsibility; and the view that rewards to people should be earned, not casually or randomly given away.

Finally, Russell Adams, Chairman of the Afro-American Studies Department of Howard University, constructs polarities which he feels best

express the values that do and should operate in our society (Adams et al., 1977). He believes that our task is to find the balance which is most beneficial to the most people. The polarities are: a nonexploitative celebration of self versus the self-effacing conformity to the dominant values of the group; the rule of law as a norm for public matters versus the rule of law as a means in private matters; the permissiveness of majority opinion versus the imperatives of minority rights; the idea of the philosophical equality of citizens versus the concept of the pragmatic inequality of individuals as performers and producers (this brings into play the concept of merit versus the concept of equality); the belief in the efficacy of negotiations versus the belief in the efficacy of coercion, physical or psychological; and the belief in public responsibility versus the belief in private liability.

The school practitioner can find -- and in fact generate -- many other such lists of values and principles for consideration. The language and the philosophical perspectives may vary, but the conceptualization of the whole issue exists in a variety of forms and with a great deal of agreement among them. Indeed, equality, freedom, and respect for the commonweal are almost universally included.

School practitioners must deal directly with the difficult question of guiding values and principles for citizen education in their community. First, of course, they must decide whether values and principles are a possible or a proper consideration of program development. If not, what is the alternative? If so, which shall be selected as axiomatic givens?

This paper advocates a specific point of view. We believe that there

can be, and in fact there is, general consensus concerning a nationwide commonality of values and principles appropriate for citizen education. Several of these have already been enumerated. It has been argued elsewhere (and is argued here) that schools cannot take a values-free position, that they have a right and an obligation to teach the basic values to succeeding generations (Bell, 1976; Hall, 1975; Kniker, 1977). We have touched on this point already. Indeed, this viewpoint was an early justification for public education and the original justification for teaching the so-called basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic. It has been our experience in working with groups that this rationale is still valid and that seeming divergence is largely a matter of semantics, not substance.

We propose four fundamental values to guide program development: respect and caring for all persons; equality; rationality; and freedom within the limits of the preceding three. Other values can be derived from this base, for example justice and concern for the commonweal. We should elaborate one point about the first value. Many lists stipulate only respect and omit caring as being an unjustifiable extension. We include caring because it connotes more than a kind of laissez-faire live-and-let-live philosophy; it reflects an active concern for the welfare of the individual, an obligation to our fellowperson. This is an important distinction which practitioners will want to think through before arriving at a decision.

Turning to principles, we posit the following as appropriate and necessary guides in developing citizen education programs. First, the

process of program development should be consistent with the values and principles espoused in the content. That is to say, the process should reflect respect and caring for others, should be rational, should treat people equally, and should ensure freedom within the limits already established. This principle is, of course, justified by the values themselves; more than that, it mirrors the way we expect one to act in society. Second, the school, as agent of the state and the commonweal, has the right and the obligation to educate children in our common values and principles. Third, there should be open and free competition of ideas, although that is not to say that all ideas are of equal merit. Rather, we are here advocating open debate, argument, and discourse about controversial social issues and ideas. Fourth, individuals have an obligation to participate in our society in a way that benefits the commonweal. It is not enough to simply go one's way; active caring for others and for the common good is called for. Fifth and last, schools have the right and responsibility to help students grow in all ways that bear upon their civic interaction.

These statements of values and principles are based on extensive reading and experience in the field. We offer them more as a model than as an injunction. However, we strongly advocate that school improvement teams and program developers talk through this area with colleagues, students, parents, and community forces. Once resolved, the values and principles should be enunciated explicitly in a written statement that can be circulated for information, critique, and review, where appropriate. The statement must relate to the values and mores of the local community

and thereby serve and be served by the community's social and political institutions. In short, a convincing statement becomes the basis for the conceptual and social authority of citizen education.

Scope of Community

Citizen education occurs in a context. It has a community referent. That is to say, it calls for teaching for civic participation in a specific community. That community can be defined and delimited in several ways, for example by class, by nationality, by ethnic group, by racial background. Thus the citizen education community referent could be relatively narrow -- for example, a specific class of a specific ethnic group in a specific country, such as a private education for a Brahmin male in India. In like manner, an elite ethnic group could be the referent community in the United States.

The question can be restated as: What is the community for which the specific citizen education is being mounted? Who is excluded, either consciously or unconsciously, from that community? Is it citizen education for all Americans, including blacks and Spanish-speaking aliens? When we speak of equality and respect and caring for all persons, who is in the circle? Does the circle include other countries and continents? Is the program to be principally multicultural (a term that has become a euphemism for blacks)? Or multilingual (a term that has become a euphemism for Spanish-speaking persons)? Or multiethnic (a term that has become a euphemism for white ethnic groups)? Is it to be national or, should we say, nationalistic? Or is it a global perspective, emphasizing the interdependence of our world?

This, again, is a sensitive issue. Many program developers will be tempted to dodge it one way or another in order to evade criticism and controversy. Nevertheless, practitioners must be clear about their community referents. Clear thinking and intelligent planning depend on it. For example, if you decide to define the community referent as international and thus assume a global-perspective point of view, this means, obviously, that that point of view must be reflected in the objectives and in the content. Or again, suppose you decide to focus on the rapidly growing Spanish-speaking population of the United States. In some cases, this will require an explicit effort to make students aware of the impact of an increasingly multilingual culture, of the feelings that can be, and often are, generated by such demographic shifts.

In any event, the conscious and explicit and overt identification of the community referent is crucial. Our avowedly biased view is that citizen education programs should take a universalist or global-perspective point of view, that it cannot be chauvinistic or focused upon a narrow ethnic or racial or class group. Our reasons are several. First, there is the reality of an interdependent world; we know from waiting in gas-pump lines that what happened in the Near East yesterday can affect us tomorrow. Second, the family of humanity is all-embracing; to arbitrarily exclude a group or groups is both illogical and morally unjustified.

This point of view can be controversial because it runs counter to the sentiment (probably represented to some extent in most communities) that citizen education should be concerned, above all else, with the

development of national allegiance. The difference of opinion is real. School practitioners should recognize it and should be prepared to justify their position in a thoughtful and rational manner.

A second question regarding scope of community is the focus of instructional content and process. Most citizen education programs include material dealing with international studies, national politics, regional and state concerns, and government structures and issues. Rarely is there a focus on the local problems and issues in the student's immediate community, i.e., the peer-adolescent culture, activities in out-of-school hours, and formal and informal aspects of the school itself.

Here again we present our own bias. We believe that citizen education should include the immediate community for several reasons. First, it provides the richest and most powerful opportunities for real-world learning and teaching citizen education values and principles. Second, to ignore it is dangerously unrealistic. We cannot teach about desirable social behavior at the national level, while turning a blind eye to negative citizenship patterns being confronted by the learner daily at, for instance, the local hangout. We cannot lecture about institutional trust and goodwill, while ignoring rampant vandalism and threats of physical violence in the schools. Were we to do so, we would be teaching a kind of abstract dissociation, a social schizophrenia, in which what we teach relates to the abstract and not to the students' real world, a world which claims them at all times. The learners must do more than master a language game; they must be able to draw implications for behavior in and from their immediate milieu.

Inclusion of the local community and the immediate peer world can be another controversial point, particularly with regard to local politics. The school practitioner should be aware of this sensitivity, and be aware of the potential consequences of including local politics as one of the communities.

The school improvement team must deal with these several decisions regarding the scope of community. They have implications for many of the elements of citizen education conceptualization detailed in this paper. Most immediately they influence who should be involved in the process of citizen education development, the next issue area to be discussed.

Development Process

What process should be used to develop a citizen education program in a specific school? What should the school practitioner do to bring it about? What manner of leadership should be employed? What guiding rules and principles should shape the process?

Development of a citizen education program should -- and predictably will -- extend over time, probably several years. It is our recommendation, as previously stated, that the procedural effort involve not only the personnel of the school but also parents and members of the community. We have further recommended that school personnel form a school improvement team responsible for program development. Let us consider these points in detail.

Citizen education development is necessarily in a peculiar position. From one point of view, it is in itself a political effort. As we have

said, it is also -- or should be -- subject to the principles and values which it espouses. Looking across the three traditional approaches that might be employed -- authoritarian, laissez-faire, and democratic -- we find that the underlying values and principles we have chosen to espouse ipso facto foreclose the authoritarian approach, make no comment on the laissez-faire approach, and support the deomcratic approach. The question then reduces to what kind of democratic approach to use. Two criteria should guide the selection of process. First, what procedural methods are consistent with the values and principles previously specified? Second, what is procedurally most effective in developing citizen education programs?

With regard to the first criterion, we propose that all those in the school and community who would be affected by citizen education should be offered the opportunity, indeed encouraged, to participate in the school improvement team. The school practitioner has the direct responsibility to encourage, induce, persuade, and engage full participation. We recognize that there are limits to persons' time and effort. We also want to avoid an overemphasis on involvement that might sidetrack action and progress. However, school practitioners should try to build a process which is strengthened by community representation, community consultation at critical points, and community survey findings. These techniques do much to insure that the concerns and considerations of those to be affected by the program will be fully acknowledged and, if at all possible, constructively addressed.

Obviously, a development process need not (and cannot) obtain

consensus from all parents, all community participants, all teachers, and all students. Rather, it should build representation into the school improvement team from these groups at appropriate junctures. For example, at the elementary school level it may be neither appropriate nor fruitful to have students participate in planning meetings. However, the children can play an important part at various times in the entire process as their age and the tasks dictate. They are the principal individuals to be affected and should be included in the process wherever appropriate as a matter of principle. They can provide data and opinion, and they can learn from taking part in the process. Student interviews, surveys, and informal discussions should therefore be stressed. A development effort at the senior high school level is a different case. Students can be valuable participants of the school improvement team. In this manner, the development process remains consistent with the principles and values initially espoused.

With regard to procedural efficacy, the second criterion, the research strongly suggests that successful program innovations require the sort of involvement we have here sketched. It leads to a feeling of ownership and commitment (Baldridge, 1974; Deal, Meyer, & Scott, 1975).

Successful innovation also calls for the mobilization of resources that lie outside the school and its staff. Community internships for students, support from community institutions, and parent backing are proven strengths in program development and the learning experience. They, too, lead to a sense of investment and support.

In sum, a process of democratic participation through the selection of

representatives of various community groups, and a continuing effort to consult with those who will be involved in and affected by the program, should result in a program which is both consistent with its guiding principles and based on proven effective strategies (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977).

Societal Problems

Citizen education programs should be, and in most cases have been, responsive to pressing contemporary social problems (as distinguished from the 12 issue areas around which this paper is structured). For example, the energy crisis is currently a proper, indeed imperative, content focus, as are women's equity, voter apathy, consumer education, vandalism and violence, and health-care policy.

These problems serve to focus the curriculum. They influence the selection of content, the formulation of goals and objectives, the allotment of curriculum time, and the assignment of instructional resources. Further, the problems make real and immediate concrete applications of the citizen education concerns. Finally, of course, a sense of urgency and motivation is generated proportional to the felt significance of the problem(s).

The school practitioners should lead the school improvement team in identifying problems for study. This will increase understanding of what citizen education could be as well as broaden knowledge about current social problems. It will also lay the groundwork for future responsibilities of the group.

To guide for planning group discussion about social problems, we

propose the use of a checklist with the communities listed along one axis and general areas of concern along the other (Figure 1).

Figure 1

Societal Problem Areas in Citizen Education

Community	Economics	Law	Crime	Politics	Environment	Equity	Welfare	Cooperation	Conflict Resolution
Individual									
Dyadic relations									
Primary group/family									
School community									
Local community									
State									
Regional									
National									
International									

The task is to examine the cells for suggested problems and then determine whether (and if so, how) each supports or violates the stipulated program values. For example, if we look at the cell which is the intersection of "national" and "politics," we can deduce problems related to national politics. One such problem might be voter apathy; another, lack of knowledge about government functions; yet another, distrust of government officials. Again, if we take the cell which is the intersection of "local community" and "crime," we can begin to identify specific problems in the local community, questions like "What are the problems, if any, of crime and violence in our local community?" Bear in mind that the

selected problems related to the classroom level, the school level, and the peer/cultural level are important in two ways. First, as pointed out earlier, since they really matter to the learner in his/her real environment, they have the potential for being powerful learning opportunities. Second, a focus on them convinces the students that their concerns are deemed worthy of study. This last point alone is justification for their inclusion.

We do not here recommend the inclusion of specific problems. Obviously, this is a matter for local option. Figure 1 presents a likely but by no means exhaustive list of problem areas related to various levels (economics; law; crime; politics; environment; issues of racial, sexual, social class, and economic equity; psychological and physical welfare; issues of cooperation; and resolution of conflicts). We urge school improvement committees to add to it and adapt it to their community.

With respect to international and national problems, there are several lists, often formulated by commissions and knowledgeable commentators, which lay out civic problems and issues suitable for study (Foreign Policy Association, 1968; Kahn & Wiener, 1967; Schwartz, Teige, & Harman, 1977). They can be sorted into the matrix. School improvement committees should track these down and assess them for their purposes.

When dealing with the region, it is wise to call on experts to help identify appropriate problems. For example, the author recently undertook to identify such regional problems in New Jersey. Several experts were extremely helpful: For instance, one consultant ran a series of symposia on the future of the region; another was a practicing political scientist;

and a third was a newspaper journalist. They had regional vantage points which we lacked and could help us define and be sensitive to emerging problems.

Finally, with regard to the local and school community, problems in the peer culture, in the classroom, and in the school require a somewhat different approach. We believe that students and adults directly engaged in the students' world should be surveyed, for they are prime sources for our purposes. Juvenile officers, recreation leaders, as well as parents and other representatives should also be consulted. In this case concerns will cluster around the social structure of the school; the students' immediate daily environment, both in and out of the school; and the problems related to these arenas.

To summarize, pooling these information-gathering activities, school improvement teams can formulate a list of social problems which relate wherever possible directly to real student concerns and which are variously set in international, national, regional, and local contexts.

Political/Social Perspectives

By political/social perspectives, we mean a specific view of reality that carries with it convictions about the issues and problems of our society, about their source, and often about prescriptions to remedy them. For example, a chauvinistic viewpoint might hold that all social problems relate to our country's unreasonably lenient tolerance of foreign intervention and meddling; such a stance might also favor a militaristic America-first policy. For another example, there is the more doctrinaire Marxist position, wherein equality is viewed as the principal value and

the current economic disparity as a function of class difference and oppression by the rich; the remedy is seen as united action by the oppressed groups to achieve equality. For a third example, one well-known educational historian contends that educational policies from the 1940s to the present have been designed primarily to deliver manpower to the military-industrial complex, in particular to mobilize men for military service in the 40s and 50s (Spring, 1976).

The significance of various political/social perspectives for citizen education is obvious. Certainly, programs designed by the groups cited would be dramatically different and there are many other positions.

Our point of view is that no citizen education program can escape taking a social/political position (in much the same way that no program can avoid espousing particular values). Working from this basis, we believe school improvement teams should be aware of the various positions and acknowledge their own approach. To be unaware of that bias, or to mask it in "neutrality," can only impair the leadership. A review of the more prominent positions and their relevance to citizen education may assist in this task. We have selected five to discuss: (a) Marxist/socialist, (b) leftist/libertarian, (c) American liberal, (d) American conservative, and (e) libertarian/anarchist.

First, we refer to the Marxist/socialist position. Marxism argues that education replicates the oppression and inequitable control of the means of production in a capitalistic society. Thus socialization of students into narrow, gossipy, consumer-oriented persons must be counted as a citizenship success, for without this kind of socialization

capitalism could not function. The Marxist critique points out that social-class differences have not been accidentally arrived at in North America; they are in fact perpetuated by the school system and deliberately fostered by the capitalist system of production (Ginter & Bowles, 1976; Woock, 1972).

Second, we refer to the leftist/libertarian position. This is similar to but less extreme than the Marxist view. It emphasizes humanizing the relationship between the student and teacher, the student and institution, and the teacher and institution. Here again, education replicates control of the means of production and the class structure of society and creates mindless consumers. Changes in the social nature of education can remedy this situation and lead to the creation of autonomous free individuals who can act to change the oppressive nature of their culture. Notable proponents of this viewpoint are Friere (1971) and Illich (1971).

Third, we refer to the American liberal position. Education is viewed as essential to the preservation of the liberal democratic state. Implicit in this view is the notion that a person is naturally free, creative, curious, and loving and that the behavioral and social sciences must adapt to and foster the principles of democratic society. The proper application of science to education (educational technology) is to produce a society committed to justice and relative equality (Butts, 1978).

Fourth, we refer to the American conservative position. This is an influential sociopolitical position vis à vis education. It shares many convictions with the liberal view but differs from the latter in its more negative view of humankind and of the capacity of the social sciences to

develop support for democracy and American values. At the heart of this position is a belief in meritocracy in general and in the existence of that meritocracy in America. Education is seen as a means of overcoming avaricious tendencies among the masses, as a mechanism to allow meritocracy to re-create itself, and as an opportunity to indoctrinate the masses to American concepts of values.

A final position is the libertarian/anarchist critique. This approach believes that children develop in a natural, "unfolding" manner. Schools interfere with this process, sometimes forcing an unjustifiable artificial development. The political desideratum is decentralized, deinstitutionalized communities. Humanistic education can happen only in the context of radically altered relationships among individuals in the learning situation. Programmatically, the free school reflects this view, particularly Summerhill-type schools (Goodman, 1960).

These brief capsules sketch the more well-known positions. Obviously, there are many others, in many shades and hues. We believe that the school improvement teams have the responsibility to recognize in which direction they lean and to be aware of the program implications.

We recommend caution in tackling this element. We do not believe that it is profitable to allow discussion to focus on doctrinaire positions. When issues are cast in a doctrinaire context, a great deal of ideological and affective baggage clutters and polarizes discussion. It is better to examine the problem issues and potential remedies, one by one on their own merits, avoiding discussion of specific perspectives, if at all possible.

Then, once the more specific issues have been considered, the sociopolitical perspectives ("labels") can be examined. While we believe in open and free discussions of all kinds of ideas, it is simply that discussions of sociopolitical perspectives can easily become unproductive shouting matches and result in an impasse in development efforts.

In this regard, it is important to emphasize that citizen education programs should not become the vehicle for indoctrination. The question of what is (and what is not) indoctrination is tricky. Not indoctrinating does not mean not taking a position or being laissez-faire about what viewpoints are to be presented; rather, not indoctrinating means offering learners many points of view, neither force-feeding them a position nor punishing them if they do not accept a viewpoint. At the same time, however, teachers should feel free to advocate a particular point of view, though applying no pressure in that advocacy (McClellan, 1976).

It is only reasonable to reveal our own social/political perspective. Fundamentally, we believe that humankind can construct a liberal, open society which will protect and strengthen the commonweal. We believe that education can and must contribute to this end. If practitioners and planning groups have a different point of view, it is their responsibility to work it out programmatically so as not to violate the values and principles underlying citizen education.

Content

Content refers to the information that is to be included in citizen education, the substance, including skills, concepts, theories, and ideas. To determine this, it is necessary to conceptualize the domain

and then establish definitional limits for what is and is not to be included. As a start, we begin with a previous statement, that the purpose of citizen education is to enable and dispose learners to participate in our democratic society in a manner which effectively serves the commonweal and which is personally satisfying. What, then, does one need to know, what information does one need to have, to be able to fulfill this objective?

There are many proposals for citizen education content competing for curriculum time. For example, consider the following: (a) energy education -- all citizens should be alerted to the gathering energy crisis and should have some notion of what can be done to alleviate it; (b) equity education -- all citizens should be aware of equity issues and should understand how these issues apply to them and to others; and (c) economic education -- all citizens should understand the basics of economics and should be aware of economic issues facing the nation and the region. And so on. The list presented below is a composite of many topic areas. It is not exhaustive; readers are invited to add their own items. The relevance of each area to citizen education is noted in the explanatory paragraphs.

- United States History is the study of past political, economic, and social events in the United States and of the men and women involved in those events. Effective citizenship is dependent on a firm knowledge of the history and traditions of the United States and on an analysis of the values and forces that have influenced that history.

- Civics is the study of the structure and operation of government, at all levels, as legally constituted in the United States and an analysis of the responsibilities and rights of citizens in that structure.
- Energy Education is the study of the relationship of issues of energy consumption and production to the broader political, economic, social, and legal systems and of the competing value claims that emerge in the public dialogue about energy issues.
- Economic Education is the development of a base of economic knowledge necessary to analyze economic issues and make informed decisions as a citizen. This education involves exploration of the key concepts of economics, the structure and workings of various economic systems, and the relationship of economic issues to the values of United States society.
- Community Education is the study of the community (or communities) to which the school and students belong. The aim is to develop a knowledge of the formal and informal systems operating in the community, a sense of responsibility toward the community, a disposition to participate in community life, and knowledge of the various ways citizens can act to impact the quality of life in the community.
- Environmental (Ecological) Education is the study of the legal, political, social, and economic aspects of the relationship between humans and the environment. Of particular concern is the development of the ability to make informed decisions on environmental

matters, to recognize competing value claims, and to understand the citizen's role in the conflict-resolution process in environment disputes.

- Equity Education explores the political, legal, social, and economic implications of the changing roles of men and women in United States society. It also focuses on equality of opportunity for all Americans. Equity education seeks to develop a knowledge of the overt and covert barriers to equality of opportunity and to dispose students to support the realization of equal opportunity.
- Family-Life Education explores the relationship of behavior in the family to behavior in the political community. It studies family structure and role; examines the political, social, legal, and economic issues of family life; and relates these issues to concerns of the citizen and society at large.
- Global-Perspectives Education is the study of other cultures and societies in the world and of the interrelatedness of all cultures and societies. Of particular importance are knowledge of the political and economic aspects of international relations and the role of citizens in this context; and the development of the disposition to think in global dimensions with regard to social, economic, and political issues.
- Law-Related Education focuses on the structures and functions of the American legal system, the different ways to employ that system, and the rights and responsibilities involved in seeking justice through that system. Law-related education is concerned with

more than a knowledge of how the legal system is designed; it also examines how it operates practically and explores the relationship between core values of American democracy and the activities of the legal process.

- Moral/Values/Ethical Education is the study of the moral/ethical aspects of political, social, economic, and legal activities and the values implicit in decisions in those areas. Moral/values/ethical education seeks to teach students processes which help them to evaluate the moral/ethical bases of social behavior and to make decisions and take action as citizens based on a clear perception of the competing values involved in important societal issues.
- Multicultural Education explores the contribution of various racial, cultural, and ethnic groups to United States society. It seeks to promote understanding between divergent groups in our society and to promote the recognition that cultural pluralism is a rich source for the development of American lives.
- Political-Participation Education studies practical political activities in the United States at all levels. Of primary importance are the development of group and individual skills necessary to participate in these activities and the development of the disposition to be an active participant. The two primary areas of activity are organizing for the election of candidates and influencing executive and legislative decisions.
- Problems of Democracy explores the conflict-resolution process of

the United States political community. The emphasis is on how the formal and informal structures in American democracy deal with the mediation of competing interests, with social, legal, economic, and political dysfunction, and withechanges in the social, moral, and ideological makeup of the national population.[1]

These topics generally target the field of citizen education; it is from among them that the bulk of the citizen education content will come. While areas such as drug education, cognitive and inquiry skills, social and interpersonal skills, and specific attitudes can be seen as also relevant, the problem is to select those topics which can be most useful to the citizen. Obviously, not all can be crowded into a school's teaching time; there is simply not enough time in the curriculum. Further, some of the topics themselves are ill-defined. To offer a slogan like energy education or environmental education does not really delimit the focus as much as we might hope. There is considerable debate among experts in a number of the fields as to what they include. To confound matters further, the topics overlap and duplicate many of the same critical items; for example, certain kinds of cognitive skills are included in almost all. The list also mixes logical classes, in the sense that some may be narrow in focus, e.g., a particular kind of equity, while others are wide-ranging and inclusive, e.g., political education. A final problem that spans all categories is that not all of each can be said to

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[1]Max Beck, formerly of Research for Better Schools, prepared these definitions of content areas.

relate to citizen education. For example, a study of economics includes many aspects that do not bear on citizen education; that is, the average citizen can fare very well without becoming knowledgeable about, say, techniques of microeconomics analysis. What about auto mechanics? Or career education? How and where does one draw the line? In short, we have a jumble which suffers from both misplaced emphasis and redundancy.

Clearly, we need some guides both for boundary-setting and for targeting those aspects of each area most germane to citizen education. Therefore, we here offer seven guides of inclusion-exclusion which may help us stipulate the field of citizen education. Again, the reader is invited to amend, add, or delete. The guides are: (a) a quality of social imperative, (b) selected sociopolitical concepts, (c) focus on selected institutions, (d) time, (e) interpersonal scale, (f) urgency of problems, and (g) nature of the learner. The following paragraphs sketch how these guides can focus and delimit citizen education content.

The first guiding criterion is that citizen education topics have a social-imperative quality. To repeat once again, citizen education can never be neutral, for it seeks to teach learners to internalize certain values. This characteristic distinguishes it from academic disciplines. To elaborate, political science, the study of international relations, or ecology are not citizen education areas in themselves because their objectives are based on the investigation and acquisition of knowledge per se. They rule out values related to action. The methods and knowledge of these disciplines may be taught, however, when they are placed in the context of citizenship concerns. Citizen education invariably injects a

values point of view or relates to some proposed sociopolitical position. Thus this first criterion immediately excludes such areas as group dynamics and history, or economics and political science, because they are disciplines and not part of citizen education -- although some of their knowledge and content may be both.

The second criterion or guide is that the topics relate to certain soiciopolitical concepts of citizen education. We would list such concepts as:

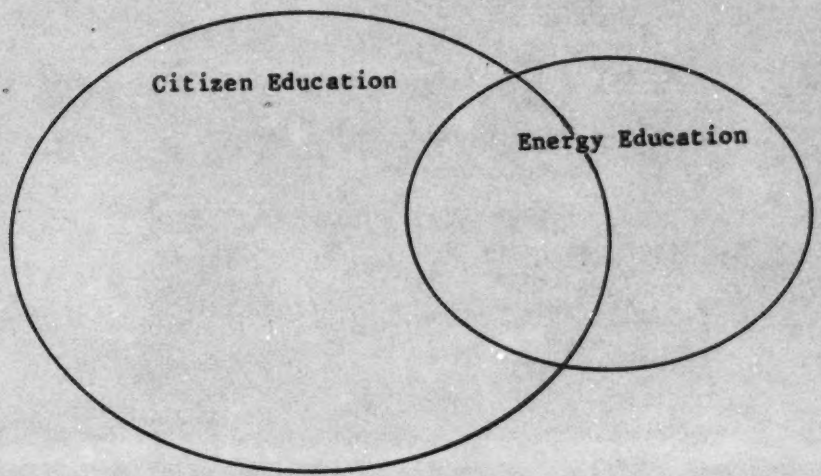
- Authority. Influence derived from the willing acceptance by others of one's right to make rules or issue commands and to expect compliance with them.
- Conflict. Antagonistic encounters or collision of interests, principles, ideas, policies, or programs that characterize many of the interactions carried on between people.
- Leadership. The combination of personal attributes, respected by others, that enables an individual to shape the collective behavior patterns of a group in a direction determined by his or her own values.
- Polity. The political organization of a society. Polity may refer to the body politic, or citizenry, or a particular community, or it may refer to the institutions, forms, and processes through which the country is governed.
- Power. The capacity to affect the behavior of others in some desired way.

• Value. A concept of what is desirable or good. (Adapted from Plano, Greenberg, Otton, & Riggs, 1973)

These concepts help us focus on the content which properly belongs in citizen education. For example, citizens do not need to know all about energy: the physics, the chemistry, and the transportation of energy. They should, however, be aware of the energy issues and studies that relate to the sociopolitical concepts. Citizens need to be energy-literate in the sense that they understand the conflicts, issues of judgment, values concerns, and the use (and misuse) of power in environmental public policy. We can illustrate this relationship with a simple Venn diagram (Figure 2). The overlapping area in Figure 2 is the core citizen education domain. Scientific information that is highly relevant to energy education but not relevant to our sociopolitical concepts falls outside this citizen education core.

Figure 2

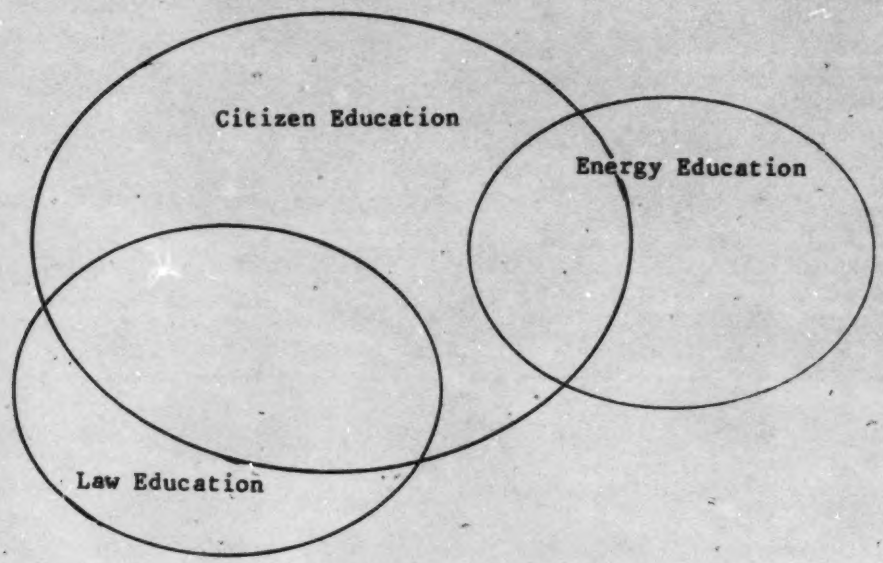
Relationship of Citizen Education Content (A)



Law provides a similar example, although differing in degree. Most of law deals with sociopolitical concepts and can be considered to fall within the core citizen education. However, certain legal subareas clearly do not fit, for instance the mechanics of searching for precedents or court procedure or the development of a court case. Figure 3 illustrates the relatively larger proportion of law falling within the citizen education core as compared with energy education.

Figure 3

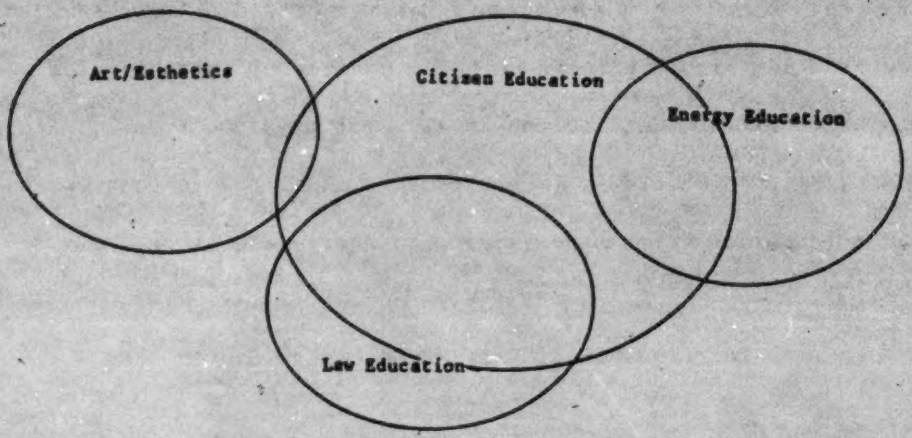
Relationship of Citizen Education Content (B)



Art/esthetics offers yet another example. Most of art is concerned with esthetic techniques, creation, theory, judgment, and appreciation. However, a small part relates to questions of power, justice, leadership, and decision-making. Thus a little slice of the artistic domain might be included in citizen education, as indicated in Figure 4.

Figure 4

Relationship of Citizen Education Content (C)



So it is with other domains. The core citizen education content can be identified and delimited by relevance to the sociopolitical concepts.

A third criterion is that citizen education topics focus on major institutions in our society. Citizen education content tends to cluster around certain societal institutions, much like points around mathematical factors, and calls for the learner to be knowledgeable about their dynamics. Politics, law, economics, technology, interpersonal relations, and education would certainly be the institutions included on almost everyone's list, and some would also include religion, health care, and the family.

Putting together the first three criteria, we can now begin to define our citizen education content. For instance, we can say that citizen education topics are characterized by a quality of social imperative and relevance to sociopolitical concepts as related to specific institutions in our society.

The fourth guide is time, a simple but significant criterion. Citizen education is concerned with the past, with the history of the institutions, values, and concepts mentioned above. It is concerned with the present, with the current events which affect and shape our lives. And it is concerned with the future, with projections. Citizen education does not support teaching history qua history, but only as it is useful in leading to effective citizenship. In the same way, we are interested in futuring only to the degree that it helps citizens to function effectively in the future.

A fifth criterion is what we call the interpersonal continuum. This is a simple continuum moving from one pole, the individual, through the national to the intergalactic. The continuum, drawing on the targeted communities (Figure 1), might include the following points: (a) individuals, (b) dyads, (c) primary groups/families, (d) social groups, (e) voluntary associations, (f) local communities, (g) states, (h) regional groups, (i) nations or nation-states, (j) international or global relations, (k) galactic relations, and (l) intergalactic relations. Of course, these continuum points can be divided different ways and expressed in different languages.

Let us take economics and try to apply it to each of the continuum points listed, from the personal focus all the way to the international. We might include questions of economic justice or power as they apply across all the points of the continuum, moving from what is fair or just for individuals to international or even intergalactic justice. As in all domains, the school improvement team must stipulate what it

perceives as being in the citizen education domain. Some may wish to exclude individuals, dyads, families, and community groups. However, we recommend that all be considered, for they offer powerful learning experiences and provide cognitive and affective undergirding for more advanced and complex points along the interpersonal continuum.

A sixth guide for defining citizen education content is urgency of societal problems selected for study. There are many, many topics that could be included in our curriculum consistent with the above five guides. So we now need a method for assigning priority. For instance, family finance might be a possible topic, based upon the guides so far. But when we weigh it against alternative and competing topics, we are faced with a decision. Why should family finance be taught in preference to information about equity or communication skills? In order to make this decision, the school improvement team must refer back to its list of societal problems and determine a ranking. That ranking constitutes this sixth guide.

A last criterion is the nature of the learner, or, more specifically, level of maturation, by which we mean a combination of the students' physical, psychological, and social development. Content selection should take into consideration the learners' interests, abilities, cognitive development, and current awarenesses. For example, elementary schoolchildren will not be interested in, nor can they handle, abstract concepts and principles of law or the mechanics of government. On the other hand, this is an ideal period for children to consider concepts of fairness, in primary groups and in personal development. Again, junior

high is a natural time to work on intergroup relations and to begin to teach abstract information. Practice and research have documented that children in the fifth and sixth grades have strong curiosity about other countries and enjoy learning about other peoples and differences in their customs and beliefs. In this way maturation, as broadly defined here, can and must play an important part in content selection.

The goal is an articulated, well-thought-out program across the elementary, middle, and high school levels. To summarize, the content of citizen education can be conceived of as an eight-dimensional space. We begin with the list of topic areas generally associated with citizen education. This list is then focused, delimited, and shaped by seven criteria.

But such a content requires a major intellectual effort to synthesize and delineate. Scholars and theorists are needed to define, stipulate, and explore content proposals. Time is needed for this process to occur. How, then, can a school improvement team presume to think through these broad, sometimes blurred topics and synthesize them into a collective content?

The school improvement teams cannot wait for the scholars and theorists to think it all out. In fact, they can contribute to the process by proceeding to develop social programs in the real world of student interests, community values, curriculum time constraints, and teacher willingness to change (or resistance). Actually, the task is made manageable by the availability of several passable curricular materials and designs. These materials deal with varied K-12 topic areas and have

been developed over the years by many groups (Indiana Department of Public Instruction, n.d.; Newmann, Bertocci, & Landsness, 1977). The team's primary task then becomes to sort through the materials available and select the substance and sequence most appropriate to local needs and perceptions. The result will be working models that will make valuable contributions to the citizen education movement.

Learning Theory

Which theory(ies) of learning should the school improvement teams adopt to guide the conceptualization and design of their citizen education effort? Learning theories purport to answer the question of how the process of learning takes place: how important kinds of learning occur and how to teach to facilitate that learning. To assist the teams in making this decision, we will review the more prominent learning theories and project their consequences for citizen education program design. Those we have chosen to examine are: (a) information-processing theory, (b) developmental-learning theory, (c) social-learning theory, (d) conditioning theory, (e) humanities learning theory, and (f) socialization theory. While there are other ways to cut across learning theories, we feel that these divisions will be most useful to school improvement teams.

The first, information-processing theory, or variations thereof, is widely reflected in our schools. Indeed, most of our tests and measures tend to reflect this orientation. It emphasizes a cognitive approach to learning. The basic premise is that the prime activities of the learner are recording information bits, processing them, and relating them to an internal cognitive structure. The internal cognitive structure is the

result of the learner's prior acquisition of information bits and their integration into his or her cognitive structure. The structuring begins with simple rote memory and proceeds to the more complex, including patterning of concepts and skills and developing a total gestalt which, in turn, mediates the learner's processing of new information.

Teaching activities present the learners with significant and useful information, facilitate the processing and retention of that information, and in so doing lead to significant development of the cognitive structure. For example, we present learners with some basic concepts of justice such as reciprocity. We explain and illustrate the concept to them; we set up expectations for recall; and we engage them in processing the information by asking for simple explanations of the concept. We also try to facilitate the integration of this concept into the cognitive structure by asking them to project the significance of new situations involving considerations of reciprocity. When the information has been integrated into the cognitive structure, it is concluded that the student has learned what was to be learned.

There are several implications for citizen education program construction. School improvement teams should be clear about what information they want to teach, specifying and organizing it with care. Teaching techniques should emphasize recall; exercises, such as writing case activities; and application and problem-solving to facilitate information processing. Tests measure recall of information, ability to apply the information in case situations, and cognitive change as evidenced by judgments and perceptions reported by the learner.

A second theory, which continues to gain prominence, is developmental-learning theory. It posits the progression of the learner up through a series of developmental stages in different domains, principally the cognitive. Additional significant areas include social development, ego development, neurological development, self-actualization, and vocational development; and others expand the list even further. No matter which domains are emphasized, the premise is the same: There are natural stages of development through which all individuals progress. Some theorists hold that the cognitive stages are sequential and incremental and that other areas (such as ego, social, and moral development) follow upon or march with the cognitive development. Others claim that noncognitive development is actually dependent on cognitive stages.

Since the cognitive structure is seen as a kind of gestalt, it is assumed to change as a whole; that is, any change is a generalized change in understanding and perception. The change may fade in and out, but basically it involves the overall organizational structure. The stages of development are strongly related to age in the early years. Development through the stages occurs quite naturally at first, but it can become arrested at certain points. For example, six stages of moral development have been posited, moving from egocentrism to species-centrism. Individuals seem to move usually from stage 1 to stages 2 and 3 as a function of growth and experience, but growth can be arrested there. It has been estimated that only 20% of American citizens have reached stage 5, the level at which an individual can appreciate and understand the social contract theory underlying our Constitution. If this is correct, most

Americans do not, and cannot, fully understand the basis of their democratic government (Fenton, 1977).

The developmental approach aims to facilitate and enrich stage change and particularly to avoid arrested development. The teacher seeks to stimulate and challenge the learner to progress up the developmental ladder in a natural process. That process depends, in part, upon the occurrence of challenge to each structure of thought at each level of development. As the structure of thinking at a given level becomes unable to accommodate or serve as a basis for the interpretation of new situations, the learners are repeatedly required to move up from stage to stage, to change their cognitive structure of thought.

A major responsibility of the teacher is to set up situations that force the learner to formulate new ways of thinking. There are three basic ways to do this, according to developmental psychologists. The first is the use of a Socratic method in which the teacher raises questions which make the learners realize that there are inconsistencies and contradictions in their thinking. A second method is to confront the learners with problems that require new ways of thinking and reacting, to create a situation in which they must explain a proposed course of action, and to challenge that action. A third procedure is to create a real social situation for consideration and judgment. As an example of the last method, the class might be required to help to develop rules for the administration of tests and then discipline someone who broke those rules. The resulting indecision and debate create an effective learning situation, for the learners must address real-life problems of power,

authority, and decision-making. In so doing, they are called on to formulate new structures for understanding and making decisions and are nudged toward a higher developmental stage. In all these cases the learners are challenged by either a question, a problem, or a social situation forcing them to think through the challenge.

The developmental learning theory has several implications for citizen education programs. It calls for the identification of developmental areas that relate to citizen education, including such domains as social perspective-taking, moral cognition, cognitive development per se, ego development, and doubtless others as research develops new distinctions. A prerequisite of teaching is diagnosis and identification of individual and group levels of development in each domain.

Teaching techniques relate to the students' particular stage of development and the learning situation. Fenton (1977) is currently developing model programs at the high school level designed to teach social studies from the developmental point of view. Students are presented with materials that engage them in dilemmas which have confronted historical figures. They are also involved in the governance of their own classroom in a "school-within-a-school." (This last, incidentally, is one of the most unusual implications of the developmental point of view. The innovators have developed a kind of alternate school-within-a-school wherein students must develop their own institutional models, set up their own school programs, and maintain their own order. See "Instructional Design" section of this paper.)

Most elementary school teachers are well acquainted with the concepts

of cognitive development and their significance for academic skills. However, few are looking at social development, moral development, and ego development for what we might call citizen education aspects. While there are interesting developmentally oriented instructional materials for early childhood, only avant-garde experimentally oriented teachers are working through the applications in their classrooms. There is limited classroom implementation of the theory and little or no schoolwide efforts.

A third approach, social-learning theory (Eysenck, Arnold, & Meili, 1972), holds that individuals learn social behavior by observing others and imitating them. In doing so, the learner behavior is either reinforced, or not learned, or extinguished by negative reinforcement. Ultimately, the learners become self-regulated and in effect become responsible for their own behavior.

The objective for social-learning theorists is to influence behavior patterns, not development of cognitive structures or information input (Staub, 1978). The theorists are concerned with what learners do; for instance, how they relate to authority, or how they engage in civil discourse, or whether they are altruistic and willing to help others. The aim is to influence the psychological mechanism through which the desired changes are brought about. The ultimate aim is the substitution of internal controls for external sanctions. At this point, it is hypothesized, adherence to societal norms occurs in the absence of external pressures and social surveillance.

The principal instructional technique is modeling and its variants. The latter include patterning, direct instruction, explanation, criticism,

practice, illustration, and reinforcement. Teachers must be clear about the specific behaviors they wish to teach. They must arrange to have the learners observe a desired behavior and then have them practice it. For example, if we want to teach the technique of civil discourse, we would have to identify the behavioral elements that we believe characterize effective or desirable civil discourse. Next, we then would have to arrange for the modeling of each behavioral element and of the whole technique as well. Following this, the learners would need the opportunity to practice the behavior and receive feedback, both of which require class time and instructional effort. Thus desirable citizen education behaviors would have to be identified; skill levels determined and specified; time given for practice of these skills; and a hierarchy of behavior developed. Measurement would consist of performance testing, or reports of behavior changes, or unobtrusive measures of desired behavior.

The principles of social-learning psychology have been employed for years in teaching and have had extensive application in several areas related to physical skills, such as catching a baseball, dancing, and handwriting. In general, the principles have not extended to the school; in fact, social learning is generally not considered the responsibility of schools except in those cases where students are asked to restrict their behaviors: "Sit quietly like Karen." "Keep your hands to yourself like Ralph." In viewing citizen education as active engagment requiring behavioral skills, we will necessarily have to consider adapting some of these social-learning-theory techniques and tactics to teaching effective civic participation.

A fourth learning theory, one that is widely recognized, is conditioning (Eysenck et al., 1972). The theory is simple: Behavior can be reinforced if the learner experiences a reward for it, and behavior can be extinguished if the learner experiences punishment or no reward for it. The teaching objective is to change behavior in a desired direction, to build desired behavior repertoires, and to maintain desired behavior. The one basic teaching technique, with several variations, is as follows: (a) The teacher has a clear conception of the behaviors that are wanted; (b) the teacher identifies reinforcements or punishments that he or she can command and which have significance for the learner; (c) the learner does (or does not) manifest the desired behaviors; and (d) the reinforcement (or punishment) is delivered. In this way the learners perceive the reward/punishment to be related to the behavior they have displayed.

One variation is to wait until the desired behavior occurs among other behaviors and then reinforce that specific one. For example, on an individual level the teacher might try to obtain improvement in handwriting by pointing out words that are written more clearly than others. On a group basis, the teacher might ignore or reprimand calling out in a discussion. Another variation is to create an environment that reinforces the desired behavior and then to induce the learners to produce those behaviors. An interesting example of this was provided by a Job Corps camp, which set up a meritocracy; as the people progressed in their particular skill track, they received better rooms, more privileges, and even better food -- all inducements for desired behavior change.

An important variation is self-conditioning, in which the individual

or the learner group itself is the conditioning agent, not the receiver (Thorensen, 1974; Williams, 1975). In this case the learner or learners identify the desired behaviors, specify the reinforcers, and schedule the reinforcement for themselves. For example, an individual who wishes to lose weight might identify no snacks as the desirable behavior and specify a reward -- some new clothes -- if he or she keeps the resolve; or a school group may wish to set up rewards for acts of service and citizenship. The important point is that the learners are not being manipulated; they are the agents in the process. We feel that this tack is especially consistent with the citizen education values of respect for persons and the principle of freedom.

Here the implications for citizenship instruction are several. Again, we must be clear about what behaviors we wish to teach. We must also identify reinforcers that are both significant to learners and consistent with the values that citizen education promotes. For example, if we wish to teach children to participate actively in situations of governance, we must first specify what behaviors we want to teach. Then we must construct a situation where they have an opportunity to practice the desired behaviors and where they can be reinforced, rewarded, in a manner that will encourage and maintain those behaviors.

The humanities learning theory is a nonpsychological and even a nonscientific theory of learning. Fundamentally, it holds that there are central problems of life and meaning: right, obligation, and truth, to name a few. Persons should have the opportunity to consider them and to become aware of what the great minds of all time have thought about them.

The teaching objectives closely follow this rationale: to foster awareness of the problems, to convey knowledge of what the best minds think of the problems, and, if appropriate, to encourage personal assessment or resolution of these issues -- or, in short, a deeper understanding of human experience and meaning.

The traditional teaching techniques are reading and/or lectures and discussion and/or writing. Students are tested on their ability to discuss an issue, present alternative positions, take a position, and project implications for their own life.

A humanities approach to citizen education would call for the identification of basic citizen education issues, probably those that center around the kinds of concepts already mentioned, such as power, authority, and polity. Students would be tested on their ability to discuss and write about the issues. This kind of educational program exists in varying degrees in many schools, particularly secondary and private, and colleges. Humanities instructional materials are available, for instance Oliver's work at Harvard University (Oliver & Shaver, 1966).

A sixth learning approach is socialization theory. It builds directly upon the social-learning theory previously described. It holds that we learn through participation in roles within social systems, and in that sense it is a macro-application of social-learning theory (Harre & Secord, 1972). Individuals learn to behave according to the demands made on them by traditional expectations of self and others. For example, one learns to be a leader by holding a leadership role; one learns how to help people by playing a helping role with others; one learns to participate in

politics by assuming a role which involves participation in politics; and so on. The objective of socialization is to prepare individuals to effectively meet the expectations of their role responsibilities and to be able to learn new roles with facility and economy -- that is, role flexibility.

Teachers employ socialization concepts and techniques in some measure. Among the most common are identifying the role behavior that one wants the learner to learn and constructing situations that permit performance of that role. These constructions include reading about role situations and the skills and perceptions required, reading case studies, participating in role play, participating in simulations, and playing the role in some degree. This preparation and practice provide information and an opportunity to develop understanding and motivation.

The implications for citizen education are straightforward. We must identify the roles in which we would like the learners to act effectively, e.g., as voters, as participants in political organizations, as citizens making economic decisions, as leaders in a political meeting. We must then construct situations that provide learners with the opportunity to assume those roles and be reinforced. This, of course, implies extending the learning situation beyond the doors of the classroom and even beyond the doors of the school. For example, children would probably learn a great many skills related to citizen education by holding jobs in volunteer positions. In a like manner, a student who works as a hospital aide learns attitudes towards others, how to handle and limit demands upon him/herself, and how to work in a complex hierarchical institution.

Social skills, attitudes, and knowledge are developed in a kind of whole learning experience.

A socialization approach has been used in schools in isolated cases. It undergirds several approaches to programs designed to change behaviors of deviants. Learners have been placed in new situations and asked or expected to perform in some creditable way. In one situation, boys who were engaged in violence and vandalism in a community were placed in work situations with men. Role expectations were those of responsible adult work. Their behavior improved dramatically. We believe that socialization deserves much more attention as a way of conceptualizing teaching and learning. But it will require school practitioners to think in a new mode.

If we compare the six learning theories, we can arrive at several conclusions. First, there is considerable overlap among them. For example, conditioning techniques may well be emphasized by those who see learning as essentially information processing. Second, the theories are not mutually exclusive. Information-processing, socialization, and humanities theories, for instance, can all be combined with developmental theory. Third, a key point, the theories have different outcomes/objectives, as outlined below:

Theory	Objective
• Information processing theory	The learner will be able to recall specific information and to process information to solve problems.

• Developmental theory	Each individual shall progress to the highest stage possible.
• Conditioning theory	The learner will exhibit the specified (desired) behavior in response to cue.
• Social-learning theory	The learner will be disposed to exhibit behavior which is judged to be socially desirable.
• Humanities theory	The learner will possess the ability to describe selected issues and their significance and will express caring and understanding.
• Socialization theory	The learner will display role competence and role flexibility.

While the objectives are quite different, they are all desirable. Ideally, we would like to have impact in all the objective domains, using all the theories to obtain the maximum educational effect.

The task of the school improvement teams is to decide which one or several of the learning theories they will emphasize. We make three recommendations.

First, school improvement teams should employ as many of the learning theories as possible. All the theories have strengths and values to offer, although some have more research validation than others. The objective of the citizen education effort is to have an impact. To achieve this goal, school improvement teams should not spend time choosing which theory is, for instance, most valid or most desirable. Instead,

they should draw upon all theories for ideas for program development.

Second, the school improvement teams should begin with the learning theory which is already their strength and concentrate on applying it in a more systematic way. That is, if the school is information-processing oriented, we suggest that the school staff focus on better use of this approach to obtain objectives. Building upon current expertise will increase confidence and interest and is most likely to achieve results the most economically. Following this kind of successful experience, staff can consider folding other approaches, or parts of other approaches, into the familiar one. In this way the program can be strengthened as it develops.

A third recommendation is that learning theories include citizenship behaviors among their objectives, not simply the traditional information and understanding. Behavior skills and attitudes elicit an important and too frequently neglected set of educational goals.

Objectives

The formulation of educational objectives is a task that is familiar to most educators (Flanagan, Mayer, & Shanna, 1971). Objectives give focus to an instructional program and become the basis for evaluation of its effectiveness. Most simply, the objectives of a program should answer the question: What are you attempting to accomplish?

In our case, citizen education objectives should be a synthesis of the decisions school improvement teams have made regarding the issue areas discussed in this paper. For instance, the objectives should reflect the selected fundamental values of citizen education; they should be congruent

with the decisions concerning the scope of community; they should recognize and in some cases address societal problems that have been identified as critical; they should be consistent with the sociopolitical perspective espoused; they should encompass citizen education content; and, finally, they should be consistent with the selected learning theory(ies).

In short, objectives are simply the past decisions of the school improvement team translated into short goal statements. They are somewhat like laws in the sense that they reflect the sum of the testimony, hearings, and supporting documentation generated in the process of development. Lawyers and judges understand this cumulative effect and interpret the law accordingly. The educator should do likewise in drafting objectives, recognizing that they are to be interpreted in the context of previous deliberations and decisions.

Objectives can be couched in many forms and at many levels of specificity. The form usually reflects the learning theory employed. As stated, if the learning theory is to be information-processing oriented, the objectives will focus on recall of data and the creating of cognitive mediating structures. If the learning theory is heavily developmental, the objectives will be stated in terms of progress on developmental scales. The level of specificity relates to whether the objectives are designed to specify outcomes for programs, courses, or lessons. Program objectives will be more general and abstract, while lesson objectives will of necessity be very specific. We feel that the school improvement team should have the responsibility for specifying the overall program objectives. The teachers and principals should then tackle the job of

developing course and lesson objectives consistent with the overall objectives.

While this may initially seem to be an overwhelming task, it is in fact relatively simple because of the availability of many lists of citizen education objectives to guide the team. Such lists often focus on one or several of the areas that we have named as components of citizen education content, for instance global-perspective education and economic education. In a few cases they seek to represent the whole citizenship domain. NAEP (1969) has prepared an excellent list of widely endorsed overall objectives (cf. "Values and Principles" section of this paper). Besides its broad representativeness, this list has an additional advantage. Because it has served as the basis for the development of national assessment instruments, there are baseline data related to the items. There are several other excellent sources of objectives (Senesh, 1964; Tri-County Goal Development, 1976). An early task of the school improvement teams should be to obtain these and other lists and build their own list from that foundation.

The author cites below a list of citizen education objectives developed by a team of educators and revised in the light of expert consultation. It is offered both as an example of what objectives might look like and as our best recommendation at this time. Following educational conventions, the list is cast as three categories of learner outcomes. The first category is knowledge -- what should the learner know? This is the traditional emphasis upon the student's ability to recount certain facts and concepts at the teacher's request. The multiplication tables

and spelling exemplify this kind of knowledge. It is measured by traditional testing techniques. The second category is skills -- what should the learner be able to do, at what level of proficiency? Reading, carpentry, and computer programming are examples of skills that are measured by presenting the learner with a related task and assessing his/her performance. The last category is generally called dispositions or attitudes -- what the learner would probably do in a specific case and the reasons he/she would give for doing it. Willingness to help, obedience to rules, and truthfulness are a few dispositions that would be considered desirable in a citizen education effort. Dispositions are difficult to measure; most often learners are presented with hypothetical situations and asked what they would do in those situations, or their behavior is observed in selected situations and they are then interviewed in order to learn the reasons for their action.

In line with this model, let us examine our citizen education definition in terms of knowledge, skills, and dispositions outcomes. The sum of these is our best answer to the question: "What does a citizen need to know, need to be able to do, and need to be disposed to do, in order to be a good citizen, participating in our democratic society in a manner which contributes to the common welfare and is personally satisfying?" The definition reads:

> The goal of Citizen Education is to prepare students for current and future responsibilities in their interpersonal, community, and political lives by fostering the acquisition of the following knowledge, skills, and dispositions leading to personal satisfaction and the

realization of democratic principles:

Knowledge

- Knowledge of the dynamic institutions and systems that exert influence in our society -- law, economics, politics, religion, international relations, and technology
- Knowledge of the historical and contemporary context of recurring social issues related to the above institutions
- Knowledge of the major issues and problems forecast for the above areas and others that may emerge

Skills

- Inquiry skills -- which enable learners to select, organize, evaluate, and use information, with special, but not exclusive, reference to problem-solving and decision-making
- Interpersonal skills -- which enable learners to engage in communication, act cooperatively, exercise leadership, and take part in arbitration
- Action skills -- which enable learners to formulate problems, generate alternatives, set goals, plan strategies, consider consequences, and evaluate courses of action

Dispositions

- Respect and caring for others
- Commitment to equality of all persons
- Commitment to rationality
- Commitment to personal freedom limited only by the above commitments

- Identification with positive primary groups, and local, national, and world communities
- Commitment to action and participation

Note that the knowledge outcomes have been divided into three subcategories. We want citizens to know about the institutions and systems that influence our society. We also want them to know issues of the past, issues of the present, and issues which are forecast for the future. This information enables citizens to participate effectively in our democratic society; it also becomes the basis for decision-making and action in the civic arena.

Inquiry skills are important because they enable a citizen to obtain and use information effectively to participate in civic and social problem-solving. This is based on several premises. First, citizens will want to participate, and to do so they must have and understand the facts. Further, they must have the skills to seek and obtain information. Otherwise, they will be passively dependent upon others to spoon-feed information to them. Once having the information, citizens must be able to make judgments -- select, organize, and evaluate the information they have received. Finally, they must be able to make use of the information -- to make decisions or solve problems. These inquiry skills are essential to informed, effective citizen participation in our society.

Interpersonal skills have also been divided into subgroups. They are important because they enable individuals to communicate their wishes and values and to relate to the values and concerns of others. Such skills

are requisites to effective and personally satisfying participation in civic activities.

Finally, action skills are essential, for thoughts without actions have little or no effect. The other objectives are worthless if the learners do not or cannot carry their knowledge and skills into effective action. Action skills highlight the citizen as agent and actor.

Turning to the dispositions, it should be stated that the first four listed were selected as the basic principles of citizen education. They must become the basis for learner action. From another point of view, they might be thought of as values. In addition to these four fundamental dispositions, we have included one reflecting a concern for and an identification with the learner's community. We believe that this, too, is basic to citizen education's concern with civic participation and contribution to the commonweal. Finally, we have included a disposition to act, for, as we have stated, the knowledge, skills, and dispositions are futile without action. In brief, knowledgeable, skillful, principled action is the ultimate citizen education objective.

We want to again emphasize that this statement of objectives is offered both as an example and as our current best thinking. The task of the school improvement teams is to consider it and others and then to draft their own objectives consistent with their previous deliberations and decisions related to the various issues of program development.

Instructional Modes

By instructional modes, we mean the context and the means within which and by which instruction and/or learning take place. What modes are to be

employed to teach citizen education? Traditionally, we have thought largely in terms of classroom instruction as the principal, and often the only, mode of instruction. Many critics and theorists have insisted that this conception be broadened to include other aspects of the school and even other community institutions (Cremin, 1977; Ehman, 1972, 1978; Fenton, 1977). We strongly agree with these critiques and discuss both traditional and nontraditional instructional modes in this paper.

We have identified seven modes that we feel can lead to powerful and effective citizen education programs: (a) formal classroom curriculum, (b) interpersonal relations, (c) institutional climate, (d) parent involvement, (e) community involvement, (f) media, and (g) instructional design. The first, the formal classroom curriculum, is what generally happens in the conventional classroom -- course content, teaching techniques, structural methods, and class-time activities. These elements are what people usually mean when they talk about educational programs and curricula. Compared with other factors such as family and the media, schooling is a significant agent for transmitting citizenship information to students, increasing in importance from grade school to high school (Ehman, 1969; Langton, 1969). Systematic and carefully aimed curriculum treatments can result in students learning considerable political knowledge at both the elementary and secondary school level (Patrick, 1972; Rodgers, 1973; Rockler, 1969; Sherry, 1976). It is somewhat less central an influence in shaping political attitudes and behavior, although it may be relatively more important for racial minorities and low social-status groups than it is for higher status groups (Baughman, 1975; Dawson,

Prewitt, & Dawson, 1977; Ehman, 1978; Langton, 1969). The formal classroom curriculum, then, is a useful tool for conveying information but less so for influencing attitudes and behavior.

We have already stated our conviction that programs must go far beyond the single mode of formal curriculum instruction; this is particularly so in the areas of social learning and growth so entwined with citizen education. Indeed, some other modes appear to be more effective than the curriculum in influencing social behaviors and attitudes, the area where classroom instruction is weakest. We thus must look at the total experience of the learner and use as many and varied instruction/learning modes as are appropriate and effective.

A second mode, an unconventional one, is the interpersonal-relations instruction. This refers to the immediate person-to-person interaction of the learner's environment. It includes, in part, what has been called the "invisible curriculum." Specific school elements of this mode embrace both (a) staff-learner social exchanges and (b) learner-learner social exchanges. The quality of these exchanges is the chief variable to be considered. For instance, what are the norms, values, and perceptions of the teachers and learners with respect to the principles of equality, respect for all persons, freedom, and rational decision-making? What is the nature of interpersonal communications? Is there discrimination, scapegoating, unresolved conflict, hostility? Are there formal and informal mechanisms for encouraging and supporting leadership, for raising and resolving differences? Since citizen education is concerned with social learning and growth, the interpersonal culture becomes a powerful

instructional device. The message is conveyed not by what the teachers say about respect for persons but by how they treat people. Again, in the middle-school years the adolescent peer culture and its concern (or lack of it) about people can be a forceful teacher; it is a forceful (and sometimes destructive) shaper of adolescent social learning.

Research supports these contentions. We have indicated, and data demonstrate, that the teacher has some modest impact on the political attitudes of youth, probably more so for lower-status than higher-status students. The credibility of the teacher may also be a key attribute (Allman-Snyder et al., 1975; Marker, 1970; Silvis, 1972). The teacher strongly influences student attitudes and classroom climate. This factor, when a positive force, has been linked consistently and strongly to desirable political attitudes. An open climate of opinion, free discussion of controversial issues, students' sense of agency in the rules and workings of the classroom -- all shape political attitudes positively (Ehman, 1978; Levin, 1961; Meixel & Haller, 1973). With respect to the power of the peer group, its potent influence is amply documented by research studies. The norms, values, and perceptions of the peer group are particularly influential among adolescents (Dawson et al., 1977; Langton, 1969; Jennings & Niemi, 1968).

Those who would teach citizen education must be aware of the strength of the interpersonal mode of instruction and learning and of its subtleties. They must be prepared to accept the responsibility for influencing the quality and direction of interpersonal relations as part of their instruction. There are many approaches for doing this, for instance

making people aware of interpersonal aspects, legitimizing discussion of issues, examining the consequences of norms and specific behaviors, and setting goals for change and growth.

A third teaching/learning mode is what we call institutional climate. Most often this refers to the structure of schools, but it can also refer to the climate of any organization or institution housing citizen education efforts. Elements of the organizational climate include procedures and structure for developing policy, aspects of school governance, guidance activities, discipline systems, and communication systems within the school. To restate the obvious, students live within a social/political organization when they are at school. Participation in this organization can be, in fact is, an influential teacher. If the message of the organization is that students should be passive, take orders, and do what they are told, then, predictably, those students will become citizens who are nonparticipatory, who do not believe in internal control or social efficacy, and who are emotionally and functionally alienated from society.

Again, research supports these statements. Participation in school governance and extracurricular activities is related positively to political attitudes of students (Borg, Bluhm, & Gibbons, 1966; Levenson, 1972; Rafaledes & Hoy, 1971). The organizational and governance climate of a school is also related to political attitudes of students. More participatory and less authoritarian climates are linked to more positive political attitudes and behavior of students (Ehman & Gillespie, 1975; Jennings & Niemi, 1968; Levin, 1961; Merelman, 1971). The institutional

climate is clearly an important part of the "invisible curriculum," and we must address it.

The fourth mode of teaching/learning is parent involvement. Parents and home life have an extremely strong impact on children's citizenship behaviors, particularly in the early years of life. Basic patterns are set that persist over a lifetime.

Research gives clear support to this contention. Langton (1969) found that the family is four times more effective than school or peer group in having an impact on children's political attitudes. Other researchers have found that parenting patterns influence a wide variety of social behavior, ranging from impulse control to violence to social norms to altruism (Fowlkes, 1974; Jennings, 1974).

Thus citizen education programs must try to touch parents and the home as much as possible, difficult as this may be in the context of contemporary public schools in America. Some specific actions can be suggested here, including (a) home/school communications about social behavior; (b) involvement of parents and other family members in policy development related to citizen education in the schools; (c) introduction of training sessions and workshops in parenting procedures related to citizen education -- a growing area of interest among parents; and (d) development of parent/learner activities related to citizen education, such as ceremonies, parent/student council, and so forth. This important area calls for educational pioneering and leadership. Its potential is enormous, partly because parents want to be involved -- they want to help

their children grow in the positive social way predicated in citizen education.

Community involvement is the fifth mode of teaching/learning. The focus is upon the learners' relationship to institutions and organizations within the community. An effective and positive socializing technique is to involve students in meaningful, authentic social roles in their community -- community defined to include the school, the region, the nation, and the world, although of course the main focus would be on the local community.

Again, research supports the effectiveness of this mode in changing attitudes in a positive direction, improving behavior, and supporting the learning of citizenship skills (Dawson et al., 1977; R.S. Jones, 1975a, 1975b, 1976; Struve & Snider, 1970; Williams, 1977). One important element of this mode is the quality of interchanges between learners and community. To improve and sustain that quality, various steps can be taken, several of which are proposed here. First, foster communication and interaction between learner and community by bringing community speakers to the classroom and by sending students out into the community. Second, promote student involvement in the community issues by, for instance, having children take part in a project bearing on a community problem. Finally, establish structures and roles for students to ease their entry into the community; for instance, establish and publicize a clearinghouse for student volunteer community activities, or develop internship programs for learners to participate in local government and health-care agencies. There are excellent models of such programs.

The sixth and final mode of teaching/learning is the use of media. Research has shown that media, especially television, powerfully influences social behavior -- both positively and negatively (Foreign Policy Research Institute, 1974; Liebert, Davidson, & Neale, 1974; Siegel, 1974). A citizen education effort must recognize this power and, if at all possible, harness it for citizen education ends. There are three promising strategies. First, create media programming that focuses on citizen education objectives. Activity could range from the creation of a citizen education-type "Electric Company" kind of program to a series of 2- to 3-minute spot clips. This would require substantial federal and/or foundation support (much as was the case with the "Electric Company" and other program series). Second, put pressure on the media, employing tactics somewhat like those of the PTA campaign during the last 2 years. In a sense we would be taking citizen action to persuade the media czars to improve the content and quality of programming. Public objections to TV violence have had an effect. In like manner, we can now demand positive programming. Finally, teach learners to be selective and critical about the programs they watch. The school program should make every attempt to teach learners the concepts and attitudes to become critical viewers fully aware of media techniques that are used to influence thought and behavior.

Media is a difficult and tricky area. For example, while we would like to see media programs that further citizen education objectives, there is the danger of unwittingly abridging the First Amendment. Creating TV programs is extremely expensive and chancy. Indeed, many programs that attempted some social good were never aired and are now on the shelf

because they were not deemed attractive and/or were not effectively promoted. Nevertheless, citizen education cannot ignore the pervasive effect of media. This last mode is a serious challenge calling for creative policy development and innovative action.

We have traced how citizen education instruction can go far beyond the formal curriculum. The entire school milieu -- perhaps more than the formal curriculum -- is the real message. We must create a total social/learning experience that illustrates and reinforces what we seek to teach. The school improvement team has the responsibility to lead the school staff in considering these modes. Again, we counsel beginning with what the school already emphasizes, most probably the formal curriculum, and moving slowly towards a more comprehensive program which reaches beyond the school to the broader environment of the learners.

Instructional Design

Instructional design is the culmination of the issues areas. It concerns the organization and structure of the instructional program, that is, when all the parts are put together in time and space in a manner that will affect learners. We use instructional design in a broad sense and include (in addition to subjects and courses) school schedules, grouping patterns, discipline, teacher roles, teaching techniques, evaluation criteria, and the like. The school improvement team, again, should be responsible for instructional design. Prominent among the alternatives are: (a) core curriculum, (b) spiral curriculum, (c) infusion curriculum, and (d) "Just School" model.

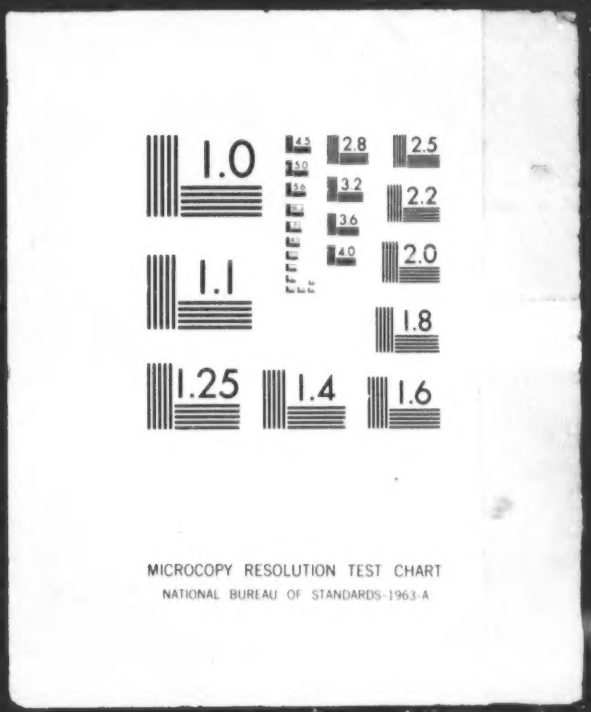
Several designs can be superimposed directly on the conventional

curriculum, for th[illegible] represent simply a reordering of content. For example, the organic curriculum, developed by Senesh (1964), identifies the key concepts of a discipline and introduces them from first grade on up, each year with increasing depth and complexity. The major disciplines are introduced in a rotating fashion, although the relationships between them are dealt with as they relate to a short story or novel being taught. For an example, the Texas Department of Education (1977) developed a series, Partners in Career Education, which presents lesson plans for infusing career education in social studies and language arts, K-12.

A core curriculum is essentially interdisciplinary. Years or units of activities are organized around a central theme, and each discipline is explored in terms of its relationship to that theme. For example, if the central theme were Africa, children might explore African art in art class, African history in history, and so on. Often the separate disciplines are not clearly differentiated. This is the model for a so-called "open" school.

The spiral curriculum, which is identified with Taba (1970), refers to the spiral of concept development: introducing basic concepts each year at higher and higher levels of generality, complexity, and abstractness. Specific repeating concepts serve as focal points for selection and organization of content and represent fundamental learnings. Facts and cases related to the basic concepts are the vehicles by which students arrive at important ideas.

The infusion curriculum has been extensively used in career education and is often characterized as "threading." It could be particularly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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
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amenable to citizen intervention because it does not require a fundamental reorganization of instruction. In an infusion model, concepts, learning experiences, and the like, are infused within already extant programs and disciplines. In citizen education this could take the form of discussing citizen education concepts as part of the language arts program, for instance.

A more radical instructional design is the "Just School" model, wherein the total administration of the school becomes a learning experience. Policy concerning such matters as curriculum content, discipline, school rules, and even hiring of personnel are thrown open to student discussion and decision. The students learn through taking the responsibility for thinking through issues, making decisions about them, and living with the consequences (Kohlberg, 1975).

Other models, and variations on them, are myriad. The following list suggests some of the elements of instructional design: objectives, content, learning theories, modes of instruction, roles, time patterns, and grouping patterns.

Each of the listed elements can be varied to obtain different instructional designs. We have already discussed objectives, content, learning theory, and instructional modes. With respect to objectives, we have proposed a written statement; with regard to content, we have proposed guides for identifying and delimiting the knowledge to be included in citizen education; with respect to learning theory, we have proposed using as many as possible and including at least one that stresses behavior change; with regard to instructional modes, we have similarly urged using

as many as possible, in particular going beyond the classroom curriculum.

Let us now consider some other elements of instructional design. Time patterns refer to how long teachers and students are in given places engaging in given activities, e.g., the class schedule. Roles refer to how students and teachers are expected to act toward each other -- informal? make demands? punish? Grouping patterns refer to how students are arranged. Is instruction individualized? Are groups homogeneous in certain abilities? Are ages mixed? We make no recommendations in these matters for two reasons. First, the school improvement team is in the best position to formulate the most effective design for a particular school. Second, we hear many theories about what should be done, but we find little or no research data to substantiate the claims made.

However, we do confess to one general bias. Since citizen education as we here propose it is a relatively new effort, we would like to see variation of instructional-design models across schools. If several models were in operation, it would provide a reasonable basis for comparative evaluation among them.

For example, we would like to see a school combine an emphasis on developmental learning, a wide number of learning modes, an emphasis on peer groups and parents, and an individualized diagnosis-and-prescription approach. This might first require a schoolwide testing program of students to determine individual levels of development on different scales, for instance perspective-taking, cognitive development, and ego development. School staff then could individually prescribe for each student based on his/her development, such prescriptions possibly calling

for varied grouping and probably for varied instruction. Parents would be involved, much as parents of special education students now are involved, in the development of the individual prescriptions. Parents would also be offered instruction in facilitating their child's development. The goal would be to move children up the developmental ladder in citizen-education-related areas.

A second model we would like to see piloted is an information-processing approach combined with a socialization approach. The information to be processed and the related mediating cognitive structures would be closely coordinated with specific objectives for citizenship role behaviors. To offer a simple example, students would be expected to learn information about the roles and techniques for leading meetings. They would also be expected to actually lead meetings. Skill teaching and role experience would be coordinated in increasingly wider and more sophisticated situations. In this way the instructional strategies of information processing and socialization would be combined for heightened effect, with the double focus of cognitive mediating structures (knowledge) and role performance (behavior).

These brief sketches of two model programs illustrate how the elements of instructional design can be varied to create ideas for citizen education programs. We urge school improvement teams to examine other models and to develop variations reflecting their own thinking and priorities. We believe decisions regarding instructional design should be especially responsive to the interests and needs of the local school community.

CONCLUSION

This paper has sought to conceptualize citizen education in a way that would be useful to school practitioners, particularly those who wish to develop citizen education programs in their schools. It has presented a rationale, a language, and some concepts that allow us to think more clearly about a very complex subject. The concepts have been presented as they relate to and interact with a series of issues areas, each area presenting alternatives and each requiring decisions. These decision areas have been arranged in a sequence that roughly approximates the developmental process envisaged for a citizen education program in a local school. The alternatives have been presented and recommendations concerning them proposed.

If we have, in some measure, helped practitioners to go about the business of mounting a citizen education program in their schools, our primary goal has been attained.

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